SMITHSONIAN
LIBRARIES

SHOUT
SHARE
IT

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION LIBRARIES

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION LIBRARIES

34
13
507.73
167
Smith
78659
181

Published monthly by the

New York State Education Department

BULLETIN 402 JUNE 1907

New York State Museum

JOHN M. CLARKE, Director

Bulletin 113

ARCHEOLOGY 13

CIVIL, RELIGIOUS AND MOURNING COUNCILS AND CEREMONIES OF ADOPTION OF THE NEW YORK INDIANS

BY

WILLIAM M. BEAUCHAMP

	PAGE
General nature of councils	341
Character and power of chiefs	345
Wampum in councils	350
The condoling council	351
Iroquois ceremonial manuscripts	398
Variations in the songs	400
The dead feast	402
Adoption	404
Religious council	410
Nation councils	419
Supplementary	439
Authorities	444
Index	447

ALBANY

NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

1907

M166m-N6-2000

Price 25 cents

Smithsonian Institution
OCT 22 1907
National Museum
198594

STATE OF NEW YORK

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

With years when terms expire

1913	WHITELAW REID M.A. LL.D. *Chancellor* . .	New York
1917	ST CLAIR MCKELWAY M.A. LL.D. *Vice Chancellor*	Brooklyn
1908	DANIEL BEACH Ph.D. LL.D.	Watkins
1914	PLINY T. SEXTON LL.B. LL.D.	Palmyra
1912	T. GUILFORD SMITH M.A. C.E. LL.D. . . .	Buffalo
1918	WILLIAM NOTTINGHAM M.A. Ph.D. LL.D. .	Syracuse
1910	CHARLES A. GARDINER Ph.D. L.H.D. LL.D. D.C.L.	New York
1915	ALBERT VANDER VEER M.D. M.A. Ph.D. LL.D. .	Albany
1911	EDWARD LAUTERBACH M.A. LL.D. . . .	New York
1909	EUGENE A. PHILBIN LL.B. LL.D. . . .	New York
1916	LUCIAN L. SHEDDEN LL.B.	Plattsburg

Commissioner of Education

ANDREW S. DRAPER LL.B. LL.D.

Assistant Commissioners

HOWARD J. ROGERS M.A. LL.D. *First Assistant*
EDWARD J. GOODWIN Lit.D. L.H.D. *Second Assistant*
AUGUSTUS S. DOWNING M.A. Pd.D. LL.D. *Third Assistant*

Secretary to the Commissioner

HARLAN H. HORNER B.A.

Director of State Library

EDWIN H. ANDERSON M.A.

Director of Science and State Museum

JOHN M. CLARKE Ph.D. LL.D.

Chiefs of Divisions

Accounts, WILLIAM MASON
Attendance, JAMES D. SULLIVAN
Educational Extension, WILLIAM R. EASTMAN M.A. M.L.S.
Examinations, CHARLES F. WHEELOCK B.S. LL.D.
Inspections, FRANK H. WOOD M.A.
Law, THOMAS E. FINEGAN M.A.
School Libraries, CHARLES E. FITCH L.H.D.
Statistics, HIRAM C. CASE
Visual Instruction, DELANCEY M. ELLIS

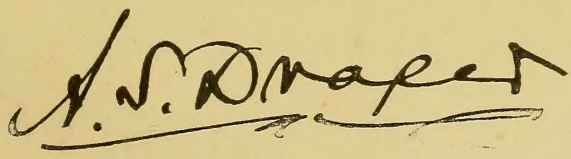
New York State Education Department
Science Division, April 23, 1906

Hon. Andrew S. Draper LL.D.
Commissioner of Education

My dear sir: I beg to transmit herewith for publication, a bulletin on archeology entitled *Civil, Religious and Mourning Councils and Ceremonies of Adoption of the New York Indians* by Dr W. M. Beauchamp. This important contribution on archeology is one of the two final reports to be made to this division by the distinguished author.

Very respectfully yours
John M. Clarke
Director

Approved for publication this 23d day of April 1906



Commissioner of Education

New York State Education Department

New York State Museum

JOHN M. CLARKE, Director

Bulletin 113

ARCHEOLOGY 13

CIVIL, RELIGIOUS AND MOURNING COUNCILS AND CEREMONIES OF ADOPTION OF THE NEW YORK INDIANS

BY

WILLIAM M. BEAUCHAMP

General nature of councils

Councils are a natural feature of human society. In a single family, living alone, the father may often assume all responsibility, but more commonly he will advise with the wife. Where two or more families are associated in one place, mutual consultations are the result. Make the families 100, and a few will represent the rest as a matter of convenience. Out of a great increase come courts, parliaments and senates. Even if the chief man of all becomes autocratic, he would still practically have a council for advice. The aborigines of the northern United States may sometimes have had absolute chiefs, but their power had no wide extent. In the main each organization was an oligarchy where a few ruled the tribe or nation. Some chief often had executive power, but most acts were those of a council. In some cases this had stated meetings, as with the Iroquois, but it could be called to consider special business.

For such calls wampum was used, with a tally stick attached to fix the date. The simple tribal council might do little to develop statesmanship, but Iroquois sagacity and eloquence were largely due to the annual or more frequent meetings of their five divisions, and the increasing outlook coming from these. When councils with the French, English and Dutch became frequent, there was a greater stimulus, and when distant tribes came to seek their favor or pay them tribute, they would not fail to become lofty in their bearing and farseeing in their plans.

While the great council of the Iroquois met periodically it was often summoned in extra session for special purposes. To obviate too frequent calls, they had the expedient of delegating powers. One might speak for another in councils, or sometimes the Onondagas might act for the whole. Local affairs were left to national councils, as in our general and state governments, those of general importance going to the grand council. In the latter case, the Onondagas, or others who might be present, sometimes held a preliminary meeting with messengers or ambassadors, not as a matter of formal business, but to learn the business, so as to be better prepared when the council assembled. Sometimes ambassadors consulted with a prominent chief, so that he might know the matter exactly, and guard against misunderstandings. It was no uncommon thing to secure his favor and aid by timely gifts. In such a case he was understood to be their representative and speaker. This the council failed not to remember.

Various councils had different names, and nationality affected this. The Senecas called a civil council Ho-de-os′-seh, *advising together,* while an Onondaga might term it Ka-hos′-ken, and sometimes Kah-hah, *where they have a light.* The names of other councils will appear under their proper heads.

While in some tribes war chiefs had a prominent place in councils, they had none in the national councils of the Iroquois, as such, and in some cases a sachem was supposed to be debarred by his office from taking part in war at all. This probably went no further than to give him exemption on high grounds, if he chose to avail himself of it. It at least showed that this people recognized in peace something far better than war. One of their own names for their confederacy was that of *Great Peace,* and though

they fought fiercely they always hailed peace as one of the greatest of blessings. The highest purpose of their great council was to remove every source of strife among themselves.

Charlevoix had most of his information from others, but speaks in high terms of Indian councils. He doubted whether women had all the influence which some claimed for them, but had been told that they deliberated first on whatever was to be proposed in council, to which they reported the result of this consultation.

The warriors likewise consult together, on what relates to their particular province, but can conclude nothing of importance which concerns the nation or town; all being subject to the examination and controul of the council of elders who judge in the last resource. It must be acknowledged, that proceedings are carried on in these assemblies with a wisdom and a coolness, and a knowledge of affairs, and I may add generally with a probity, which would have done honour to the areopagus of Athens, or to the senate of Rome, in the most glorious days of those republics; the reason of this is, that nothing is resolved upon with precipitation; and that those violent passions, which have so much disgraced the politics even of Christians, have never prevailed amongst the Indians over the public good . . . What is certain, is, that our Indians are eternally negociating, and have always some affairs or other on the tapis: such as the concluding or renewing of treaties, offers of service, mutual civilities, making alliances, invitations to become parties in a war, and lastly, compliments of condolence on the death of some chief or considerable person. All this is performed with a dignity, an attention, and I may add, with a capacity equal to the most important affairs, and theirs are sometimes of greater consequence than they seem to be: for those, who are deputed for this purpose, have commonly secret instructions. *Charlevoix*, 2:26–28

The councils here considered are the civil, religious and mourning councils, those for adoption and those for bewailing the dead without reference to the new relations of the living. Among the Iroquois the Grand Council represented the whole confederacy, and treated of peace and war, or any questions affecting general interests. This had at first a fixed number of members, and met at Onondaga annually. The minor matters of war parties were left to the war chiefs. This great council often had long sessions, and the council fire was never extinguished; the embers were simply covered. The chiefs of each nation composing this council were the civil rulers of their own nation, and were elective by hereditary

right in certain clans. Each of these clans also had had its own council, regulating tribal affairs. Two clans often met in council on matters concerning themselves.

The religious council is modern and has nothing to do with the religious feasts. Strictly it is not a council, though the people are summoned to attend. There is no discussion of any kind, but his appointed successor, or other preacher, relates the revelation made to the peace prophet over a century since. Each day, after this is done, dances follow but only as a means of enjoyment.

The condolence, or mourning council, commenced with the death of the founders of the Iroquois League, and its twofold purpose is to lament the dead and replace them with living chiefs. Properly it gathers representatives of all the nations, but its work is executive, not that of consultation. It does not choose chiefs but instals them.

The ancient dead feast had some relation to this, and had many remarkable features among the Hurons, which were soon laid aside in New York. Yet the Iroquois formally mourned the deaths of important persons in each nation, and the chiefs came as a body to express sympathy and offer comfort. One and another spoke, but no business appeared. The nation or the village alone had part in this.

The council for adoption is also treated here, varying much in character. Adoption and the giving of a name might take place in any civil council and was often attended with debate and ceremony. In important cases a general council might agree on the name to be bestowed. In such case there would be a formal announcement, without the ceremonies usual at other times. In other cases a national council or a family would agree on the name, and this would be bestowed with attendant speeches and songs. Still further, any person might bestow a name and then the ceremony would vary with his taste.

All these are considered as a class here because they have no religious observances properly belonging to them, differing essentially from those festivals which embody acts of worship. They are not all strictly councils, but have somewhat their character. Morgan calls the most striking of those remaining a mourning council. The Indians uniformly term it a condolence. Mourning

is its great feature, but then chiefs and people are gathered to perform a great duty, with mutual agreement. In this sense it is a council, and it may go as far as to depose chiefs or refuse to instal them. On account of its antiquity and prominence a full account is given here. It has a great importance in tracing the history and character of the Iroquois League.

Character and power of chiefs

The idea of reviving the dead in the person of some one living was a common one among the Indians south and east of the Great Lakes, but it took somewhat different forms. Among the Iroquois it was shown in the adoption of captives in the place of those deceased, who assumed all the duties and privileges of the one dead, but there was an official resuscitation, the new chief taking his predecessor's name and office, but not his family relations. Among the Algonquins he was considered to be the dead actually alive again. The Relation of 1639 describes this in Canada.

The savages have a custom of resuscitating or making their friends revive, particularly if they were men of distinction among them. They make some other bear the name of the deceased; and behold the dead man resuscitated and the grief of the relatives entirely gone. Observe that to the name given in a great assembly or feast, they add a present which is made on the part of the relatives or friends of the one whom they have revived, and he who accepts the name and the present is obliged to take care of the family of the deceased so well that the wards call him father.

In the Relation of 1644, there is a full account of the installation of an Algonquin chief in Canada, probably much like that of the same family in New York. There was a master of ceremonies with assistants, who arranged the presents and prepared the new chief's seat. Two officers were sent for him and conducted him to the place where his old robe was removed and a fairer one put on him. Wampum was put about his neck and a calumet and tobacco in his hand. Another richly dressed chief acted as herald and proclaimed the object of the ceremony.

It is a question of resuscitating one dead, and of bringing to life a great captain. Thereupon he names him and all his posterity, he describes the place and manner of death, then turning toward the one who is to succeed him, he raises his voice: "Behold him," he

says, "covered with his beautiful robe. This is no longer the one you were accustomed to see these days past, who was named Nehat. He has given the name to another savage, he is called Etovait . . . Look at him as the true captain of this nation; it is he whom you are to obey, it is he to whom you are to listen, and whom you are to honor."

The presents to visiting chiefs were then named and distributed and this was followed by songs, dances and a feast. Before the feast the new chief modestly said he was not worthy to bear the name of one so great and good, and afterward declared what he would try to do. The Jesuits noted a similar thing among the Hurons, who were of the Iroquois family. The Relation of 1642 says:

No name is ever lost; so when some one of the family has died, all the relatives assemble and deliberate together which among them shall bear the name of the deceased, giving his own to some other relative. He who takes a new name enters also upon the burdens which belong to it, and so he is captain, if the deceased was so. This done they restrain their tears, they cease to weep for the dead, and place him in this way in the number of the living, saying that he is resuscitated and has taken life in the person of the one who has received his name, and has rendered him immortal. So it happens that a captain never has any other name than his predecessor . . . Each nation makes its presents, which according to custom, are differently qualified. Some making their present say that they are taking the arm of the deceased, in order to draw him from the tomb; others that they are supporting his head for fear that he may fall back. Another always making some new present, will add still more freely, that he gives him arms to repel his enemies. And I, a fourth will say, I strengthen the earth under him, so that during his rule it can not be destroyed.

Among the Iroquois the election of principal chiefs is by clans and families. As the father is not of the same clan as the son, he has no voice in his election, but the mother has. The nominating power is in the woman, though subject to general consent. In the Iroquois League all clans were not represented in the Grand Council, though three always were. The Mohawks and Oneidas, the most recent comers in New York and thus of the purest stock, had but these three clans of the Bear, Wolf and Turtle. In both, their nine councilors were equally divided among the three. The three earlier resident nations had added to their numbers from

prior migrants or conquests and so had more clans. Those added after the confederacy was formed long had no representation, the number being made permanent in a measure. Most of these principal chiefs had assistants, distinguished yet as those who stand behind. In treating of this, Mr Hale was often perplexed by the name of the Ball clan, which is but another for one division of the Turtle tribe. In modern condolences one woman often has the sole nomination of a chief, but where several are to be consulted the subject may be canvassed up to the latest moment, and thus I have seen them running from house to house. The passage of time has brought some variation in representation. It is clear also that at times there have been more than 50 Iroquois sachems, but the additional ones probably had a somewhat different character and may have been the result of temporary needs. They do not appear in the condoling song, and may be classed as pine tree chiefs.

Of the power of principal chiefs, commonly called sachems, we have different accounts. Roger Williams said:

Their Government is Monarchicall . . . A Prince's house . . . is farre different from the other house, both in capacity or receit; and also the finenesse and quality of their Mats . . . Beside their generall subjection to the highest *Sachims*, to whom they carry presents, and upon any injury received, and complaint made, their Protectors will revenge it . . . The most usuall Custome amongst them in executing punishments, is for the *Sachim* either to beat, or whip, or put to death with his own hand, to which the common sort most quietly submit; though sometimes the *Sachim* sends a secret Executioner, one of his chiefest Warriours to fetch of a head.

This was among the Algonquins of New England, and the Jesuits gave a similar account in Canada in 1611.

There is the Sagamo, who is the eldest of some powerful family, who is also consequently the chief and conductor of this. All the young people of the family are at the table and in the suite of this one; it is for him also to keep some dogs for the chase, and some canoes for travelers, and provisions and reserves for bad times and journeys. The young people wait upon him, hunt, and pass their apprenticeship under him, unable to own anything before being married.

In southern New York many chiefs had little authority. A Dutch account says:

In each village, indeed, is found a person who is somewhat above the others, and commands absolutely when there is war and when

they are gathered from all the villages to go on the war path. But the fight once ended, his superiority ceases . . . There is some respect paid to those in authority amongst them, but these are no wise richer than the others. There is always so much ado about them that the chief is feared and obeyed as long as he is near, but he must shift for himself. There is nothing seen in his house more than in those of the rest. *O'Callaghan. Doc. Hist.* 3:30

Later Dutch accounts are much the same, but give Algonquin chiefs somewhat better houses and several wives. Records of treaties and sales, however, show permanent and great authority. Loskiel said that among the three tribes of the Delawares the chief belonged to the tribe over which he presided, but was chosen by chiefs of the other two. They installed him, condoling the mourners and giving his name. They also exhorted the young people, addressed his wife, and charged him with the duties of his office, singing the speeches and confirming them with belts.

"A Captain is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything committed to him by the Chief." There is a strong resemblance to the Iroquois condolence throughout. Among the latter nations were those called Wa-ka-neh-do-deh, or *pine tree chiefs,* who hold their office from their goodness or ability and can not be deposed. "Their roots are in heaven."

The Onondaga name for chief is Ah-go-ya-ne, closely resembling Agouhanna, which Cartier gave as the chief's title at Hochelaga (Montreal) in 1535. The Onondagas call a principal chief Ho-yah-nah ha-sen-no-wah'-neh, *good man with big name.* A war chief is Ho-sken-ah-ka-tah, *big man with a load of bones on his back.* Morgan names the Seneca war chiefs in a similar way, Ha-seh-no-wa'-neh, *elevated name,* like the second Onondaga word. The sachems, as a class, were Ho-yar-na-go'-war, *counselors of the people,* and a civil council was Ho-de-os'-seh, *advising together.* In early days Agoianders were the nobility, and the space was wide between chiefs and people in late colonial time.

Charlevoix noted that chiefs were elected among the Algonquins, but among the Hurons the office was hereditary in a sense, as it still is among the Iroquois. This often caused inconvenience through minors.

The noblest matron in the tribe or in the nation chuses the person she approves of most, and declares him chief. The person who is to govern must be come to years of maturity; and when the hereditary chief is not as yet arrived at this period, they appoint a regent, who has all the authority, but which he holds in name of the minor. These chiefs generally have no great marks of respect paid them, and if they are never disobeyed, it is because they know how to set bounds to their authority. *Charlevoix,* 2:24

Several instances of minor chiefs are recorded in colonial documents, and in 1895 a 5 year old boy of the Onondaga Bear clan was publicly made a chief. As such he will attend councils, but will have no voice or vote in them until of fit age.

Mr Chadwick carefully inquired how Iroquois chiefs were nominated in Canada, comparing several accounts with the following results.

The right of nomination vests in the oldest near female relative of the deceased chief, that is, the oldest of a class composed of his maternal grandmother and great aunts, if living, but if none of those are living, then the oldest of a class composed of his mother and her sisters (daughters of the mother's mother), or if none of these, then of his sisters, daughters of his mother, and if these also are wanting, then of his nieces, daughters of his mother's daughters; and if all these fail, then the right passes to collateral relatives of his mother's totem, and if there are none of these, no nomination can be made, and the chiefship becomes extinct. The nominator consults with the two next senior women, ascertained by the same order, and classification of the family is thus made. It does not seem very clear what occurs if the three do not agree . . . If a chiefship fails in consequence of the family to which it belongs becoming extinct, either in the person of a nominator, or of a qualified nominee, the Great Council has power to transfer the chiefship to another family (preferably one which is, or is considered to be akin to the extinct family), in which a chief is then nominated by the senior woman and her associates, and assumes the title in the usual manner, whereupon the succession goes in that family. *Chadwick,* 36–38

Of original titles of the Five Nations in Canada 11 have thus become extinct, and the sixth nation has there but four out of its 13 chiefs. Most of those in New York keep their offices filled.

The line of descent was often through the woman and always so among the Huron-Iroquois. Charlevoix said "Among the Huron

nations the women name the counsellors, and often chuse persons of their own sex," probably alluding to another established feature. As a body they were entitled to representation in the council and government of the nation. In New York the governesses several times signed treaties, claiming a right in all land questions.

July 17, 1742, a Seneca deputation was at Montreal and gave to Governor Beauharnois "a present from the Women of the Council; they request you to endow their Tortoises with sound, so as to be able to rouse themselves when they are performing their ceremonies." In 1753 Duquesne said the Five Nations had sent "the Ladies of their Council to Sieur Marin, to inquire of him, by a Belt," whether his purpose was peace or war.

Among the strange stories of the Iroquois which the Jesuits credited before they knew them better, was one of the Oneidas in 1641:

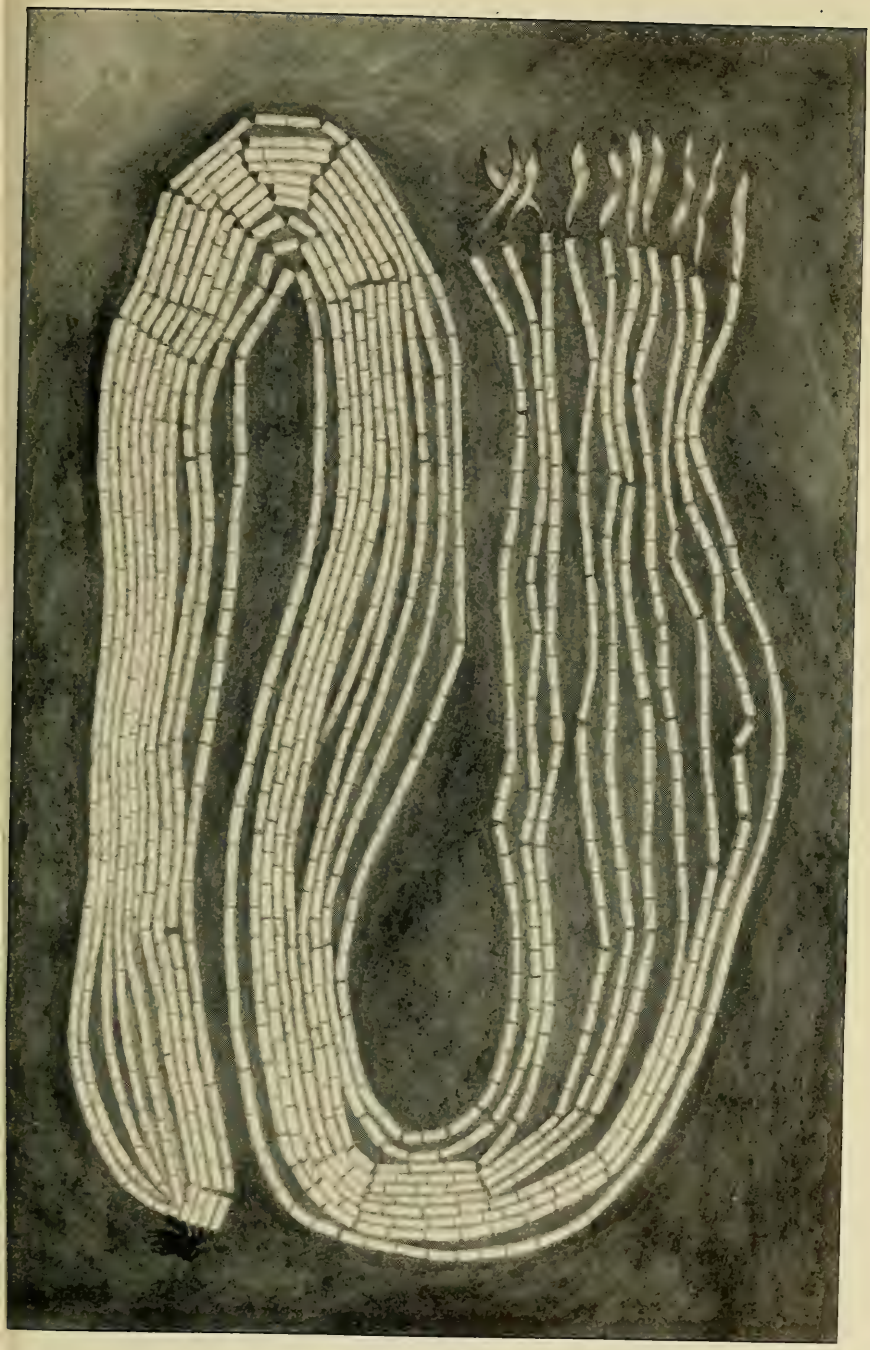
The men and women there manage affairs alternately; so that if there is a man who governs them now, after his death it will be a woman, who during her life time will govern them in her turn, except in what belongs to war; and after her death it will be a man who takes anew the management of affairs.

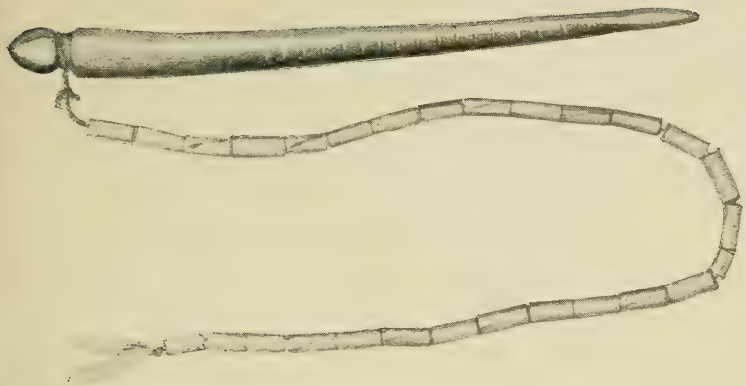
In later days, however, there were many instances of female government among the emigrant Iroquois and Delawares, and the *sunk squaws,* or queens are oftened mentioned in early colonial documents, in New England and southern New York.

Wampum in councils

Councils were called by wampum belts or strings, and speeches were made on these in the council itself. In a monograph on wampum, these usages have been fully described, and will not be recounted now. Figure 1, however, shows the 10 long strings of white wampum used in the religious council, which is exposed throughout the preaching. Figure 2 is the white wampum used to call this council, and its tally stick attached. The notches, showing the date of council, are removed daily till the time arrives. Then the invited parties appear and return the wampum. Figure 3 is a similar string of purple wampum, used in calling a mourning council or condolence for raising a secondary or war chief. It is looped and shows the customary tally stick. Figure 4 has three

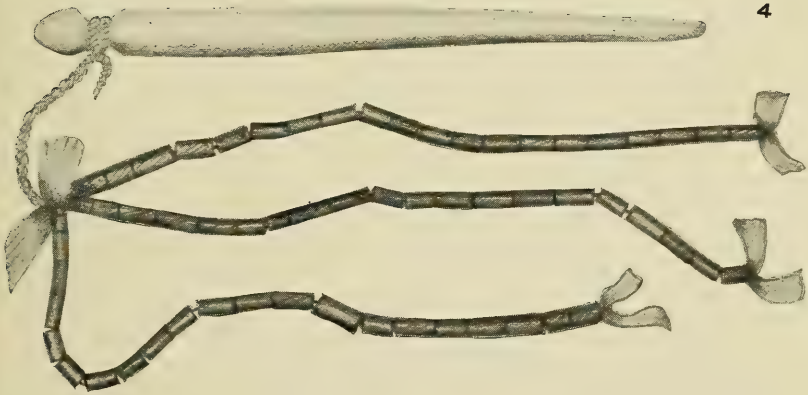
1





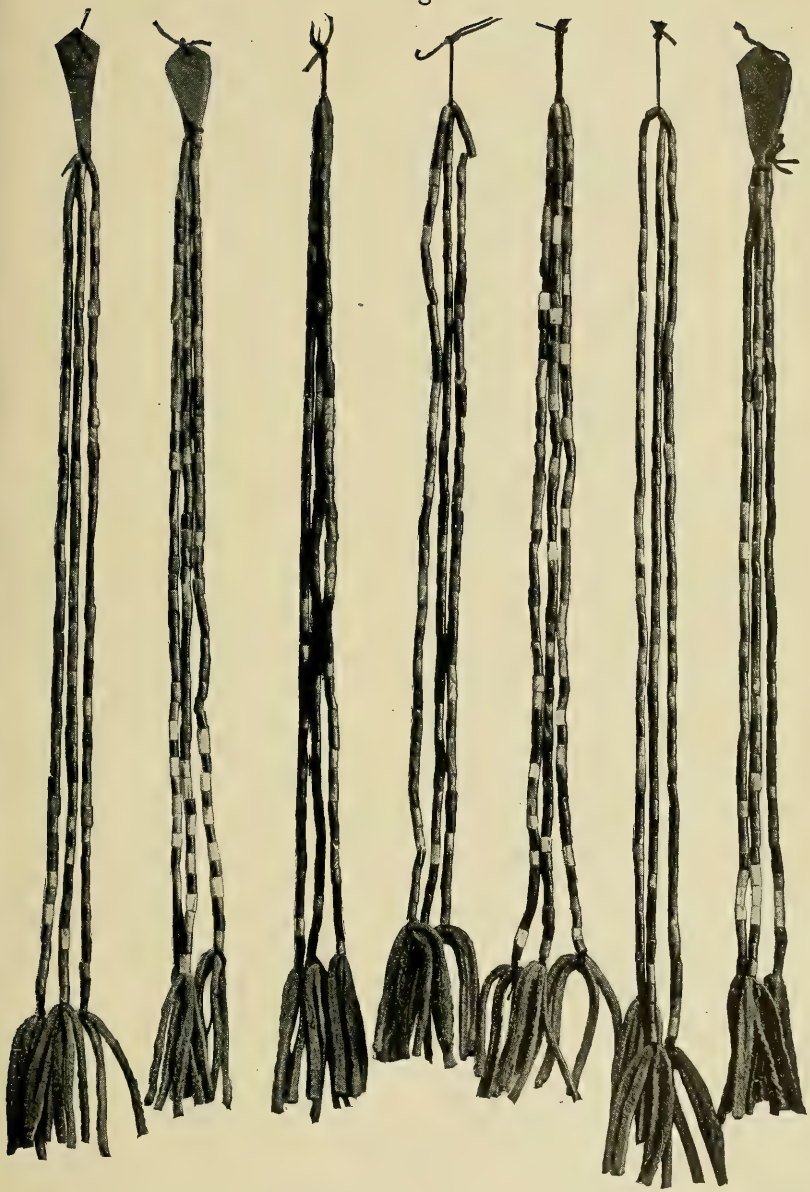
2

3



4

5



short strings of purple wampum tied to the stick, one end of each being left free. This calls a condolence for a principal chief. Figure 5 shows the seven bunches used in the condolence, to be mentioned later. There are other appropriate strings used in this, but less conspicuously. In the present scarcity of that article a little wampum has to go a great way, and it is long since belts have appeared at councils of any kind.

The condoling council

The ceremony of lamenting deceased chiefs and installing others is termed a condolence by the Six Nations; in Onondaga Ho-te-ne-ko-kah-na'-wax, in the Seneca dialect Hen-nun-do-nuh'-seh. Changed as it is, it preserves interesting and antique features. Wampum calls the council and is used in the ceremonies. The old songs are sung and addresses made, while the recital of the original chiefs' names and virtues is a prominent feature. The elder brothers, the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas still condole the other three, or are comforted by them. No festal music is heard, no drums or rattles, for there is no rejoicing till the places of the dead are filled, the horns again put on.

The writer has attended several of these condolences, publishing accounts of some, and Mr Horatio Hale has given a good account of one in Canada, while the usual songs appear in his *Iroquois Book of Rites,* the original and translation side by side. A fine Canadian copy of most of the songs is in the writer's hands and will be used here, partly because it varies somewhat from Hale's version, and partly because the words are divided into syllables. It is from the same original. There are several versions known, differing but little. All copies of the longer song are in the Mohawk as most suited for singing. The numbers used are a mere convenience.

As the Oneidas and Cayugas have no reservations or council house in New York, these are bound to them for condolences, the owners becoming visitors for the time being. In any case the condoling brothers meet at some distance and send notice of their approach. When ready they march on, with a low chant, that of the roll call, find their afflicted friends by the wayside fire, return the invitation wampum and sing a sympathetic hymn.

This wayside fire, which interrupts the roll call song, preserves an old custom: that of welcoming official visitors at some distance from the town. For ordinary purposes this meeting might once have been at the line of the clearing, and the song welcoming the visitors is now called *At the Wood's Edge.* For convenience most of the songs appear together here, as in the Indian copy used, and references will be made to them. They are not in due sequence in this. As these songs are now known to but few Indians, an expert chief is often loaned to conduct the ceremony for one or both parties, as in ancient times.

The song *At the Wood's Edge* is full of gratitude that their friends have escaped every peril while on their mission of love, and ends with a list of early villages of the three principal clans. At the council house all business is to be duly completed, and there the horns are to be taken off the dead chief's grave. The horns are as significant of power to the Iroquois as to the ancient Hebrew. When the song ends at the fire and the invitation wampum has been returned, all form a procession and go to the council house. The mourners silently lead the way, as being the hosts; the visitors follow, singing the roll call, and in the council house each party takes its proper end. There the opening ceremony called *The Old Way of Mutual Greeting,* is sung by the visitors, in which the old and familiar modes of restoring the afflicted to a sound condition are gone through.

Until the curtains are hung the succeeding songs are by one person, who walks to and fro as he utters the long and monotonous chant. Those behind the curtains are quite different.

The laws which their ancestors established are recalled, the means they took to strengthen the long house or league. As of old the long list of the original 50 chiefs is chanted in one song, with some words regarding each one. The three great clans and some early towns belonging to them are mentioned. The chiefs themselves are grouped in classes. In this song the *Haii* is repeated hundreds of times, but is mostly omitted in Hale's version. As sung it is the most prominent feature, and is expressive of joy or sorrow according to the tone, as with some of our ejaculations. Hennepin said: "There was an Iroquese captain who, one day wanting his bowl, entered into the town of Montreal in Canada, crying 'Hai! hai!'

which in their language is the sign of peace; he was received with many caresses of kindness." A meaning more in accordance with the mourning council may be found. In describing the Huron feast of the dead in 1636, Brebeuf said:

At the end of the feast, as a compliment to him who had entertained them, they imitated, as they say, the cry of the souls, and issued from the cabin crying *haéé, haé,* and reiterated this cry of the souls all the way. This cry, say they, comforts them greatly; otherwise this burden, though but of souls, would weigh heavily on the back, and cause them a pain in the side for the rest of their lives.

The names of the chiefs vary much in the several dialects, and due allowance must be made for their being sung in Mohawk, as is the custom. These songs go on almost continuously up to a certain stage, full of lamentations, and concluding with the declaration that they are dejected in their minds. The several songs of this part follow as they are written, the Mohawk and translation on opposite pages.

Oghentoh Karihwateghkongh. Deyoghnyukwarakdah Radiyats

1 O-nen wen-ni-se-ra-de, wa-ka-tye-ren-ko-wa.
De-sa-wen-na-wen-ra-de ne-ken de-yor-ho-ton,
De-sa-ha-his-oe-ne-ne don-wen-rats-ta-nyon-ne
Ne-ne-ken de-ka-ron-wah-nyon.

2 Te-sat-kah-toh-se-ron-tye ro-na-den-nos-hen-tonh-kwe
Yon-kwen-ni-konh-ta-kwen-neh konh-yen-ne-tah-kwen.
Na-ka-di-kenh na-yo-ya-ne-ra-tyeh ne sa-ni-kon-rah?
Da-sat-ka-tho-seh-ron-neh ra-di-ya-na-ron-nyon.

3 On-kwa-shots-he-ra-shon-kenh-hah; ne-ok det-ka-no-rons
Ne-she-kon a-yo-yenh-kwa-ro-ta-keh
Tsi-ra-di-roh-ton-kwa-kwe. Ne ka-di kenh na-yo-ya-ne-ra-tye
Ne sa-ni-kon-ra de-sa-ka-se-ren-ton-nyon-ne?

4 Ni-ya-wen-ko-wa ka-di non-wa o-nen sken-nen-ji
Thi-sa-ya-dir-heh-on. O-nennon-wa ouh-se-ron-nih
Deh-nih-roh-kwa-yen. Ha-se-kenh ok thi-wa-kwe-kon
De-yo-nen-nya-de-nyon ne-ne Kon-ner-hon-yon:

5 I-ih ens-ke-ri-wa-ton-de. Ken-yot-nyon-kwa-ra-don-nyon,
Ne-ȯ-ni ken-yot-da-ka-ra-hon, ne-o-ni ken kon-ti-fagh-so-don.
Ne-dens ah-e-sa-ya-tye-nen-don, kon-yen, ne-tagh-kwen,
Ne-o-ni ken-kagh-ne-ko-nyon ne-dens ah-e-sa-ya-tye, nen-don,

6 Kon-yen-ne-tagh-kwen, ne-o-ni ken wa-se-ra-ka-do-da-ne-seh
Ken de-wa-sa-da-yenh-a Ka-non-sak-ta-tyeh.
Ni-ya-de-wegh-ni-se-ra-ke yon-kwa-ka-ron-ny;
O-nih-dat-konh yagh de-ka-kon-son-degh

7 Ogh-son-do-ra-ko-wagh ne-dens ah-e-sa-ya-tye-nen-tonh
Kon-yen-ne-dagh-kwen. Ni-ya-wen-ko-wa ka-di non-wa
O-nenh sken-nenh-ji tha-de-sar-ha-di-ya-kon.
Ha-se-ken ka-no-ron tsi-na-ya-wen-on

8 Ne-ne ha-e-sah-ha-hi-yen-nyen-hon, ne-ne a-ya-ko-tye-ren-hon.
Ha-ya-ka-wenh: Is-sy tye-ya-da-ke-ronh,
Ak-wa de-ya-ko-na-ka-ron-ton. A-ya-ka-we-ron
Ogh-non-ne-kenh ni-yo-tye-ren-ha-tye, ne kon-yen-ne-dagh-kwen.

9 Ro-di-ri-wi-son onh-kwa-sots-he-ra,
Ne-ne ro-nenh: Ken hen-yon-data-jis-da-yen-hagh-se.
Ken-de-yogh-nyon-kwa-rak-da egh-ten-yon-da-di-den-ra-nyon
Ogh-rih-ho-konh-a. Ken-sa-ne yes-ho-di-ri-wa-yen

The preliminary ceremony, called, At the Wood's Edge

1 Greatly startled now have I been today
By your voice coming through the woods to this clearing.
With a troubled mind have you come
Through obstacles of every kind.
2 Continually you saw the spots where they met,
On whom we depended, my children
How then can your mind be at ease?
Ever you saw their footprints,
3 Those of your forefathers. And even now
Almost might the smoke have been seen
Where together they smoked. How can your mind
Then be at ease, when weeping you come on your way?
4 Great thanks, therefore, we give, that safely
You have arrived. Now then together
Let both of us smoke. For all around indeed
Are hostile powers, which are thinking thus:
5 I will frustrate their plans. Here are many thorns,
And here falling trees, and here the wild beasts wait.
Either by these might you have died, my children,
Or here by floods might you have been destroyed,
6 My children; or here by the hatchet
Raised in the dark, outside the house.
Every day by these are we wasting away.
Or by deadly and invisible
7 Disease might you have been destroyed,
My children. Great thanks, therefore now,
That safely you have traversed the forest.
For painful would have been the results
8 If you had perished by the way, or startled
One had said: Lo! bodies are lying yonder;
Yea, and those of chiefs! And they would think
In dismay, it was startling, my children.
9 Our forefathers made the rule,
And they said: Here shall they kindle a council fire,
Here at the forest's edge, they will condole each other
With very few words. But they have referred

10 Egh-non-weh o-ri-wa-kwe-kon ya-den-ka-ri-wen-da-se-ron,
Ne-ne a-kwah den-yon-da-tya-to-se-ron-ko. Ne-o-ni ne ro-nenh:
E-tho-non-weh yen-yon-ta-te-nonts-hi-neh,
Ka-nak-ta-kwe-ni-yo-keh yen-yon-da-ti-de-ron.
O-neuh ka-dy i-se se-we-reughs-kwe sat-hagh-yon-nih-shon:

1 Kar-he-tyon-ni. Ogh-ska-wa-se-ron-hon.
Gea-ti-yo. O-nen-yo-te, Deh-se-ro-kenh.
Degh-ho-di-jen-ha-ra-kwen. Ogh-re-kyon-ny.
Te-yo-we-yen-don. E-tho ne ni-wa ne a-kot-hagh-yon-ni-shon.
2 O-nen ne-ne she-ha-wah de-ya-ko-da-ra-keh
Ra-nyagh-dengh-shon: Ka-negh-sa-da-keh.
On-kwe I-ye-de. Wagh-ker-hon. Ka-hen-doh-hon. Tho-gwen-yah.
Kagh-hi-kwa-ra-ke. E-tho ne-ni-wa ne ra-nya-den-shon.
3 O-nen-ne-ne ja-da-deh-ken rogh-ske-re-wa-ke:
De-ya-o-kenh. Jo-non-de-seh.
Ots-kwi-ra-ke-ron. Ogh-na-we-ron.
4 O-nen ne-ne ough-wa-keh-hagh-shonk-a: Kar-ha-wen-ra-dongh.
Ka-ra-ken De-yo-he-ro. De-yo-swe-ken.
E-tho ni-ka-da-ra-kegh ne o-righ-wa-ka-yongh.

Onen nene tsinikawennakeh; dewadatenon wehron,
Oghhendonh karihwadeghkon, radiyats: Ohkiok
Nahoteuh denyondate non we ronkwe. Tokah enyahiron:
1 Kon-yen-ne-dagh-kwen, o-nen-wegh-ni-se-ra-de
Yon-kwat-ken-ni-son. Ra-wen-ni-yoh
Ra-wegh-ni-se-ron-nih. Ne-on-wa-ken-wen-teh
Yon-kwat-ken-ni-son ne-ne tsi-ni-yoh-neh-ra-kwa
2 Tsi-ne-sa-ya-da-wen. O-nen ongh-wen-ja-konh
Ni-yon-sa-kah-ha-we ji-non-weh na-de-kagh-kagh-ne-ron-nyongh-kwe.
A-kwah ka-dy o-ka-se-ra-kon tha-de-tyat-regh-kwa-ne-kenh.
O-nen-ka-dy ya-kwen-ronh, wa-kwen, nyon-kogh-de
3 O-kagh-se-ry, a-kwah ka-dy ok-sken-nen
Tha-den-segh-sat-kagh-ton-nyon-he-ke, Nok-o-ny ka-nek-he-re
De-yoh-sih-ha-ra-onh ne sa-hon-da-kon. O-nen ka-dy
Wa-tya-kwagh-si-ha-ra-ka wa-ah-kwa-de-yen-donh

10 Yonder all business to be finished in full,
There taking off the horns. And they said:
Thither shall they be led by the hand,
And placed in the principal seat.
Now then, our friends of the Wolf clan:

1 Kar-he-tyon-ni. Ogh-ska-wa-se-ron-hon.
Gea-ti-yo. O-nen-yo-te. Deh-se-ro-kenh.
Degh-ho-di-jen-ha-ra-kwen. Ogh-re-kyon-ny.
Te-yo-we-yen-don. This comprehends the Wolf clan.
2 Now then, thy children, the two bands
Of the Turtle clan: Ka-negh-sa-keh.
On-kwe-i-ye-de. Wagh-ker-hon. Ka-hen-doh-hon. Tho-gwen-yoh.
Kagh-hi-kwa-ra-ke. This comprehends the Turtle clan.
3 Now then, thy brothers of the Bear clan:
De-ya-o-kenh. Jo-non-de-seh,
Ots-kwi-ra-ke-ron. Ogh-na-we-ron.
4 Now these were added of late: Kar-ha-wen-ra-dongh.
Ka-ra-ken. De-yo-he-ro. De-yo-swe-ken.
Ox-den-keh. Such is the extent of the Bear clan.
Such were the clans in ancient times.

Now these are the words of mutual greeting,
The opening ceremony, called the old way
Of mutual greeting. Then one will say:
1 My children, now this day
We are met together. God
Has appointed this day. Now this day
We are met, because of the solemn event
2 Which is now our lot. Now into the earth
Has he been borne to whom we always looked.
Even in our tears then together let us smoke.
Now then, we say, we wipe away
3 The falling tears, so that peacefully
You may look around. And then we think
Something stops up your ears. Now then
With care have we removed this hindrance

4 Tsi-sa-ron-ka-tah, ka-dy na-ya-wenh ne sken-nen
Then-sat-hon-de-ke enh-tye-wen-ni-ne-ken-neh.
Nok o-ny ka-nek-he-re de-yogh-sih-ha-ra-onh
De-sa-nya-do-kenh. O-nen ka-dy, ho-ne ya-kwen-ronh:
5 Wah-tya-kwah-sih-ha-ra-ko, a-kwah ka-dy ok sken-nen
Then-de-se-wen-ni-ne-ken-ne den-de-wa-de-te-nongh-whe-ra-don.
O-nen a-re o-yagh, kon-yen-ne-dagh-kwen. Ne-ne ka-don
Yoh-ne-rah-kwa ji-ne-sa-ya-da-wen. Ni-ya-de-wegh-ni-se-ra-keh
6 Sa-nek-he-renh-onh ra-di-ko-wa-nenghs-kwe. Ongh-wen-ja-konh
Ni-yes-ka-haghs; ken o-ny ro-digh-sken-ra-kegh-de-tagh-kwe,
Ken o-ny san-hegh-tyen-se-ra, ne o-ny sa-de-re-se-rah.
A-kwagh ka-dy ok o-neh-kwengh-da-ri-hen
7 Thi-sen-ni-kwa-ken-rye. O-nen ka-dy ya-kwen-ronh
Wa-kwa-ne-kwengh-da-ro-ke-wa-nyon ji-sa-nak-de
Ogh ka-dy nen-ya-wen-ne se-wegh-ni-se-rat-hagh
A-kwah ok sken-nen then-yen-seh-sen-ni-ko-denh
To-ka-rah ni-wen-ni-se-ra-ke, sken-nen
Then-ka-nak-di-yoh-ha-ke den-sat-ka-tonh-nyon-se-keh.

Ya-yak ni Ka-ren-na-keh

1 Ka-ya-ne-renh des-ke-nongh-we-ron-neh;
2 Khe-ya-da-wenh des-ke-nongh-we-ron-neh;
3 O-yen-kon-donh des-ke-nongh-we-ron-neh;
4 Wa-kon-nyk-ih des-ke-nong-we-ron-neh;
5 Ron-kegh-sot-hagh ro-di-righ-wa-keh,—
6 Ron-kegh-sot-hagh ji-yat-thon-dek.

Enskat ok enjerennokden nakwa onaken, nyarekweh
Enyonghdentyonkoh kanonghsakonghshon, enyaiironh:

1 A-i Rax-hot-thā-hyh! O-nen ka-jat-thōn-dek
O-nen en-yonts-da-renh ne ye-tsi-ya-dē-reh!
Nē ji-ō-nenh wa-ka-righ-wa-kā-yon-neh
Nē se-wa-righ-wi-sa-ān-ong-kwe ne ka-ya-ne-rengh-kō-wah.
A-ya-wenh-ens tō-kengs-ke dā-on-da-ya-koht-onh-de-keh.
2 Na-i Rax-hot-tha-hyh! Ne-ken-ne i-se-wenh:
En-ya-ko-dengh-the-neh ne nogh-nah-ken
En-ya-ka-on-ko-dagh-kwe.
3 A-i Rax-hot-tha-hyh! Onen non-wa
Ka-thongh-non-weh that-kongh-kogh-dagh-kwa-nyon
Ji-dengh-nonh ni-tha-righ-wa-ye-ra-thagh-kwe.

4 To your hearing; easily then, it may be,
You will hear the words to be said.
And also we think there is a stoppage
In your throat. Now therefore, we also say,
5 We remove the obstruction, so that freely
You may speak in our mutual greetings.
Now another thing, my children. I say this
Of the solemn event which has happened. Every day
6 You are losing your great men. Into the earth
They are borne; also the warriors;
Also your women, and your grandchildren as well;
So that in the midst of blood
7 You are sitting. Now therefore, we say,
We wash the blood stains from your seat,
So that it may be for a time
That happily the place may be clean
For a few days, where pleasantly
You rest and are looking all around.

Six tunes of the hymn

1 The League I come again to greet and thank;
2 The kindred I come again to greet and thank;
3 The warriors I come again to greet and thank;
4 The women I come again to greet and thank;
5 My forefathers,— what they established,—
6 My forefathers,— hearken to them.

The last verse is sung yet again, while he walks to and fro in the house, and says:

1 Hail, my grandsires! Now hearken
While we weep and cry to you!
Because that has grown old
Which you established, the Great League.
We hope that they may hear.
2 Hail, my grandsires! Thus ye have said:
Those are to be pitied who in later days
Shall pass through this life.
3 Hail, my grandsires! Even now
I may fail in going through the ceremony
As they were wont to do.

4 A-i Rax-hot-tha-hyh! Neji-o-nenh
Wa-ka-righ-wa-ka-yon-neh se-wa-righ-wi-sa-an-ong-kwe
Ne ka-ya-ne-renh-ko-wah. Ye-tsi-se-wat-kon-se-rah-kwa-nyon
Onh-wenh-ja-kon-shonh ye-tsi-se-wa-ya-da-ke-ron,
Ne se-wa-righ-wi-sa-an-ong-kwe ne ka-ya-ne-rengh-ko-wah.
5 Ne sa-ne-kenh ne i-seh-wenh ne e-renh ni-yen-hen-we
Ne en-yo-ri-wa-da-tye ne ka-ya-ne-renh-ko-wah.

Eghnikon enyerihwawethahrhoh, are enjondernnoden
Enskat enjerennokden, onen ethone enyaky hetste onen
Are enjondentyonko kanonhsakonhshon, enyaironwahhy:

1 A-i Rax-hoht-tha-hyh! O-nen jat-thon-dek
Ka-dy non-wah ji-ni-ha-di-ye-renh,—
O-rih-wa-kwe-kon ne de-ho-di-ya-do-regh-tonh,
Ne-ne ro-ne-ronh ne en-yo-nongh-sagh-ni-rats-ton,
2 A-i Rax-hoht-tha-hyh! Ne-ne ro-nenh:
O-nen non-wah we-de-wa-yen-nen-da-ne;
We-de-wen-na-ke-ragh-da-nyon;
Wa-di-de-wen-na-ka-ron-don-nyon.
3 O-nen a-reh o-yah egh-de-sho-di-ya-do-reh-donh,
Ne-ne ro-nenh: Ken-ki-shen-nen-ya-wen-neh.
Agh-shonh thi-yen-ji-de-wa-tyen-se-ke
O-nok en-jon-kwa-nek-he-ren. Ne-ne ro-nenk:
Ken-ki-ne-nen-ya-wen-wen-ne.
Agh-shonh den-ya-ko-kwen-hon-dongh-se-he,
O-nok den-jon-da-de-na-ka-ron-da-koh.
Do-ka ok ya-da-ya-ko-na-ka-ron-da-tye
Ne onh-wen-ja-konh ni-ya-onh-sa-ka-ha-weh.
4 A-i Rax-hoht-tha-hyh! Ne-ne ro-nenh:
Da-e-de-wenh-he-yeh onh-teh, ne-ok ya-da-ya-ko-na-ka-ron-da-tye
Ongh-wen-ja-kon ni-ya-onh-sa-ka-ha-weh.
5 O-nen a-re o-yah egh-des-ho-di-ya-do-re-tonh.
6 Na-i Rax-hoht-tha-hyh! Ne-ne ro-nenh:—
Ne yoh-nongh-sagh-ni-rats-thon. Ne-ne do-nenh:
Do-kah ken-en-yon-da-tya-wengh-da-te,
Ne-kenh Ka-ren-ya-kegh-ron-donh-ah
Ne na-ya-ko-ston-deh ne na-yeh-nya-sa-ken-ra-da-keh;

4 Hail, my grandsires! Even now
That has become old which you established,
The Great League. Ye have it as a pillow
In the ground where together ye are laid,
This Great League which you established,
5 Though you said in far future times
This Great League would endure.

In this way an end will be made here, and the hymn is sung again, and then they will finish the hymn, and then he is to go on again, walking in the house and saying as follows:

1 Hail, my grandsires! Now listen and hear
Therefore now what they did,—
All the rules on which they agreed.
Those they chose to strengthen the House.
2 Hail, my grandsires! This they said:
Now then we have finished;
We have performed the rites;
We have put on the horns.
3 Now again another thing they considered,
And this they said: Thus it may happen;
We may have scarcely reached home
When another loss may come. They said:
This then shall be done.
As soon as a chief is dead,
Even then shall the horns be taken off.
For if invested with horns
He is borne away to the grave.
4 O, my grandsires! This they said:
We might all die, if invested with horns
He is borne away to the grave.
5 Then again another thing they determined.
6 Hail my grandsires! They said:
This will strengthen the House. They said:
If any one should be secretly killed,
And hidden away among fallen trees,
Because of the neck being white,

Ne-kenh ro-nenh: Ken-ki-ne nen-ya-wen-neh:
Ken-den-yet-hi-ren-tyon-ni-deh ne kan-hongh-dak-deh
De-wagh-sa-da-yengh-ah.

7 O-nen a-re o-yagh egh-de-ji-se-wa-ya-do-re-donh,
Ne-ne i-se-wenh: Yah-ongh-deh de-yo-ya-ne-reh
Ne ken-we-de-wa-yen, ne-onh-wah en-ye-kenh
Ne non-kwa-de-re-se-ra; ne ka-di-kenh ni-ya-kogh-swat-hah
Ne a-kwe-konh ni-tya-ka-we-non-tonh
Ne ken-yoh-te-ra-nen-te-nyonh-ah. Ne en-yon-tye-ren-ji-ok
Ne ken don-sa-ye-da-neh a-kwah en-ya-ko-ne-wa-ron-tye,
O-nok en-ye-ro-wa-non-don ogh-ni-ya-wenh-onh
Ne-ken de-ye-ren-tyu-nih; ne ka-di-ken nen-ya-ko-ra-neh
Nen-ye-ri-wa-nen-donh a-ka-reh o-nenh en-ya-ko-d-ken-seh.
O-nok-nah ent-hagh-wa-da-se-hon na-ko-ni-kon-rah,
O-nen a-re ne-eh en-jon-kwa-ka-ron-ny.

8 O-nen a-re o-yah egh-des-ho-ti-ya-do-regh-donh;
Ne-ne ro-nenh: Ken-ki-neh nen-ya-wen-neh.
En-de-wagh-negh-do-da-koh, ne ska-renh-he-se-ko-wah—
Ne en-wa-dongh-wen-ja-det-ha-reh, egh-yen, de-wa-sengh-te
Tyogh-na-wa-tegh-ji-honh, kah-thongh-deh thi-yen-ka-ha-we;
O-nen-dengh-nonh den-ti-de-wagh-negh-do-ten,
O-nen-dengh-nonh yagh-non-wen-donh
Thi-ya-on-sa-ye-ken non-kwa-te-re-se-ra.

9 O-nen a-re o-yah egh-des-ho-ti-ya-do-regh-donh.
Ne-ne ro-ne-ronh: Ne en-yo-nongh-sagh-ni-rats-ton.
Ne-ne ro-nenh: O-nen we-de-wa-wa-yen-nen-da-neh;
Ne we-de-wen-na-ke-ragh-da-nyon. Ne do-kah-no-kenh ongh-wa-jah
En-jon-kwa-nek-he-renh. Kenh ka-dy ne nen-ya-wen-neh:
Ken en-de-wagh-na-tats-he-ro-dar-ho ne-ken ka-na-ka-ryon-ni,
De-yon-hongh-do-yen-dongh yen-de-wa-nagh-sengh-deh,
Ne ken-ni-ka-nagh-ses-hah. Ne en-ye-ha-ra-koh ne ka-ne-kah
Ne a-ko-ni-konh-kah-deh. Ne en-wa-donh
Ok ji-yo-da-ken-rok-de ne tha-den-ye-da-neh
Togh-ha-rah nen-tye-wen-ni-ne-ken-neh
Ne en-jon-da-de-ni-kongh-kets-koh
Ne en-ye-ni-konh-kwengh-da-ra-keh.
O-nok-na en-je-ye-wen-da-neh,
Ne yen-jont-ha-hi-da ne ka-ya-ne-renh-ko-wah.

This they said: Thus shall it be done:
We will place it by the wall of the house
Where the shadow always falls.
7 Now again another thing you considered,
And you said: Perhaps it is not well
That we leave this here, lest it should be seen
By our grandchildren who are troublesome,
Looking and searching everywhere,
Into every crevice. People will be startled
At their returning in great consternation,
Asking what has happened?
Why is this lying here? For they will continue
Asking till they learn what they seek.
At once will they be shaken in mind,
And thus again will trouble be caused.
8 Now again another thing they decided,
And said: This shall be done.
We will pull up a pine — a great and lofty tree —
And will make a deep hole, and drop this thing
In a swift stream, to be carried out of sight;
Then will we replace the pine tree,
And then never afterward
Will our grandchildren see it again.
9 Now again another thing they determined.
They said: This will strengthen the House.
They said: Now we have finished;
The rites we have performed. Soon, perhaps,
A loss may come. Then this shall be done:
We will hang a pouch upon a pole,
Dropping in some mourning wampum,
Some small strings. It will be taken
Where they are suffering. It will be allowable
To stand by the fireplace,
And to speak a few words,
Giving comfort to the minds
Of those who are mourning,
And then will they be consoled,
And will follow the great law of peace.

10 O-nen ka-dy i-se ja-da-kwe-ni-yoh
Ne Ka-nongh-syon-ny, *De-ka-na-wi-dah;*
Ne degh-se-ni-wen-ni-yoh, ne ro-ha-wah, *O-dats-he-deh;*
O-nen ne-ne yes-ho-do-nyh, ne *Wa-tha-do-dar-hoh;*
O-nen ne-ne yes-ho-ha-wah, *A-kah-en-yonh;*
O-nen ne-ne yes-ho-do-nyh, *Ka-nya-da-ri-yoh;*
O-nen ne-ne yes-ho-na-ra-se, *Sha-de-ka-ron-yes.*
11 O-nen ne-ne ongh-wa-keh-hagh-shonh-hah,
Ye-jo-de-nah-sta-he-reh ne kagh-nagh-sta-ji-ko-wah.

Yenonhsenhdethah Karenna

1	Haii haii haii haii, O-nen jat-hon-dek.		Haii haii.
	"	Se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe.	"
	"	Ka-ya-ne-renh-ko-wah.	"
	"	O-nen wa-ka rih-wa-ka-yon-ne.	"
2	"	O-nen ne-ok ne.	"
	"	Jo-ska-wa-yen-don	"
	"	Ye-ji-se-wa-nen-ya-da-ryon	"
	"	Ne se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe	"
3	"	Ye-ji-se-wah-ha-wi-tonh	"
	"	Ye-ji-se-wen-nits-ka-rah-gwa-nyon	"
	"	A-gwah ne-ok-ne	"
	"	Ska-hen-de-yen-don	"
4	"	haii haii. Ne-thoh ye-ji-se-wa-non-wa-ra-da-ryon	"
	"	Se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe	"
	"	Ye-ji-se-wah-ha-wi-tonh	"
	"	Ye-ji-se-wat-gon-se-ragh-gwa-nyon.	Haii haii, haii haii.
5	"	Se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe	"
	"	Ka-ya-ne-rengh-go-wah.	"
	"	O-nen Ka-dy	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
6	"	Ja-da-gweh-ni-yo-shonh	"
	"	Ne *De-Ka-ri-ho-kenh* (1)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-da-gweh-ni-yo-shonh	"

10 Now then, thou who wert the lawgiver
Of the Ka-nongh-syon-ny, *De-kan-a-wi-dah;*
With the joint lawgiver, his son, *O-dats-he-deh;*
And then again his uncle, *Wa-tha-do-dar-hoh;*
And then again his son, *A-kah-en-yonh;*
And then again his uncle, *Ka-nya-da-ri-yoh;*
And then again his cousin, *Sha-de-ka-ron-yes.*
11 And then in later times
The great building had additions.

Song called the Roll Call of all the Chiefs

1	Hail, hail, hail, hail, Now listen,		Hail, hail.
	"	You who completed the work,	"
	"	The Great League	"
	"	Now it has become old.	"
2	"	Now indeed,	"
	"	It is a wilderness again	"
	"	Ye are laid in your graves,	"
	"	Ye who completed the work.	"
3	"	Ye have taken it with you.	"
	"	Ye have it as a pillow	"
	"	And indeed there is nothing	"
	"	But a waste place again.	"
4	"	There ye have taken your minds with you	"
	"	Ye who completed the work.	"
	"	Ye have taken it with you.	"
	"	Ye have it as a pillow. Hail, hail.	"
5	"	Ye who completed the work. Hail, hail.	"
	"	The Great League.	"
	"	Now then	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
6	"	Ye who were rulers.	"
	"	Thou, *De-ka-ri-ho-kenh.* (1)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"

7	Haii haii	Ne *A-yonh-wha-thah.* (2)	Haii haii.
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyyunk!	"
	"	Ja-da-gweh-ni-yo-shonh	"
	"	Ne *Sha-de-ka-ri-wa-teh* (3)	"
8	"	haii haii, haii haii. Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh!	"
	"	Se-we-de-rih-wak-ha-ongh-gwe.	"
	"	Se wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe.	"
	"	Ka-ya-ne-renh-g-wah.	"
9	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Sha-ren-ho-wa-neh.* (4)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
10	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *De-yoen-heh-gwenh.* (5)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
11	"	Ne *Ogh-ren-re-go-wah.* (6) Haii haii,	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Se-wa-te-rih-wak-ha-ongh-gwe.	"
	"	Se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe.	"
12	"	Ka-ya-ne-renh-go-wah. Haii haii	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *De-hen-na-ka-ri-neh.* (7)	"
13	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Agh-sta-wen-se-ront-hah.* (8)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
14	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh	"
	"	Ne *Sho-sko-ha-ro-wa-neh.* (9) Haii haii	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh!	"
	"	Se-wa-te-rih-wak-ha-ongh-gwe.	"
15	"	Se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe.	"
	"	Ka-ya-ne-renh-go-wah. Haii, haii,	"
	"	I-se se-ni-ya-ta-gwe-ni-yoh-gwe.	"
	"	Ja-tat-ha-wak.	"
16	"	Se-ni-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe. Haii, haii	"
	"	Ka-ya-ne-renh-go-wah. "	"

7	Hail, hail.	Thou, *A-yonh-wha-thah.* (2)	Hail, hail.
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Sha-de-ka-ri-wa-teh.* (3)	"
8	"	hail, hail, hail, hail. What was the roll of you.	"
	"	You who were joined in the work	"
	"	You who completed the work.	"
	"	The Great League	"
9	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Sha-ren-ho-wa-neh.* (4)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
10	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *De-yoen-heh-gwenh.* (5)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
11	"	Thou, *Ogh-ren-re-go-wah.* (6)	"
	"	That was the roll of you,	"
	"	Ye who were joined in the work.	"
	"	Ye who completed the work.	"
12	"	The Great League. Hail, hail	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *De-hen-na-ka-ri-neh.* (7)	"
13	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Agh-sta-wen-se-ront-hah.* (8)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
14	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Sho-sko-ha-ro-wa-neh.* (9) Hail, hail	"
	"	That was the roll of you.	"
	"	You who were joined in the work.	"
15	"	You who completed the work.	"
	"	The Great League. Hail, hail.	"
	"	Ye two were principals.	"
	"	Father and son.	"
16	"	Ye two completed the work. Hail, hail,	"
	"	The Great League. "	"

	Haii haii	Ne de-se-ni-ye-nah.	Haii haii.
	"	Se-ni-non-syn-ni-tonh. Haii, haii,	"
17	"	O-nen ka-dy,	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *O-dats-he-deh.* (10)	"
18	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh	"
	"	Ne *Ka-non-kwen-yo-tonh.* (11)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
19	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *De-yoh-ha-kwen-deh.* (12) Haii, haii,	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Se-wa-de-rih-wak-ha-ongh-gwe.	"
20	"	Se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe.	"
	"	Ka-ya-ne-renh-go-wah. Haii, haii,	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh	"
21	"	Ne *Sho-non-ses.* (13)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne De-ho-na-o-ken-agh. (14)	"
22	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh	"
	"	Ne Hah-tya-den-nen-tha. (15) Haii haii	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-ṭe-jonh-neh.	"
23	"	Se-wa-de-rih-wak-ha-ongh-gwe	"
	"	Se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe.	"
	"	Ka-ya-ne-renh-go-wah.	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
24	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne Te-wa-ta-hon-ten-yonh. (16)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
25	"	Ne Ka-nya-dagh-sha-yenh. (17)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne Hon-wah-tsa-don-neh. (18) Haii haii	"

	Hail, hail.	Ye two aided each other.	Hail, hail.
	"	Ye two founded the House. Hail, hail,	"
17	"	Now therefore,	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, O-dats-he-deh. (10)	"
18	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Ka-non-kwen-yo-tonh.* (11)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
19	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *De-yoh-ha-kwen-deh.* (12) Hail, hail,	"
	"	That was the roll of you.	"
	"	You who were joined in the work.	"
20	"	You who completed the work.	"
	"	The Great League. Hail, hail,	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
21	"	Thou, *Sho-non-ses.* (13)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *De-ho-na-o-ken-agh.* (14)	"
22	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Hah-tya-den-nen-tha* (15) Hail, hail	"
	"	That was the roll of you.	"
23	"	You who were joined in the work.	
	"	You who completed the work.	"
	"	The Great League.	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
24	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Te-wa-ta-hon-ten-yonh.* (16)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
25	"	Thou, *Ka-nya-dagh-sha-yenh.* (17)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Hon-wah-tsa-don-neh.* (18) Hail hail	"

26	Haii haii	Ne-thoh-na-te-jonh-neh.	Haii haii.
	"	Se-wa-te-rih-wak-ha-ongh-gwe,	"
	"	Se-wa-rih-whi-sa-an-ongh-gwe.	"
	"	Ka-ya-ne-renh-go-wah. Haii haii	"
27	"	Egh-ye-sa-ton-nih-shen:	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk.	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *A-do-dar-hoh.* (19)	"
28	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk.	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *O-neh-sengh-hen.* (20)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
29	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Teh-hat-kagh-dons.* (21)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Wa-hon-tenh-non-te-ron-tye.	"
30	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Ska-nya-da-ji-wak.* (22)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
31	"	Ne *A-we-ken-yat.* (23)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *De-ha-yat-kwa-yen.* (24)	"
32	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Yes-ho-ha-wak:	"
	"	Ro-gwa-ho-ko-wah.	"
	"	E-thoh ka-ge-ron-da-gwe.	"
33	"	Ne ka-ni-kongh-ras-hon.	"
	"	Ne *Ho-non-wi-reh-tonh* (25)	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	E-thoh yes-ho-ton-nyh.	"
34	"	Te-ka-da-ra-geh-neh	"
	"	Ne *Ko-wen-nen-sen-tonh.* (26)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Ha-rir-honh.* (27)	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"

26	Hail, hail.	That was the roll of you.	Hail, hail.
	"	You who were joined in the work.	"
	"	You who completed the work.	"
	"	The Great League. Hail, hail,	"
27	"	These were his uncles:	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *A-do-dar-hoh.* (19)	"
28	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *O-neh-sengh-hen.* (20)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
29	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Teh-hat-kagh-dons.* (21)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	These were as brothers henceforth.	"
30	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Ska-nya-da-ji-wak.* (22)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler,	"
31	"	Thou, *A-we-ken-yat.* (23)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who were ruler,	"
	"	Thou, *De-ha-yat-kwa-yen.* (24)	"
32	"	That was the roll of you.	"
	"	Then his son:	"
	"	He is the great Wolf.	"
	"	There were combined	"
33	"	The many minds.	"
	"	Thou, *Ho-non-wi-reh-tonh.* (25)	"
	"	That was the roll of you.	"
	"	These were his uncles.	"
34	"	Of the two clans.	"
	"	Thou, *Ko-wen-nen-sen-tonh.* (26)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who were ruler.	"
35	"	Thou, *Ha-rir-ronh.* (27)	"
	"	That was the roll of you.	"

	Haii haii.	Wah-hon-den-non-de-ren-tye.	Haii haii.
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
36	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Hoh-yunh-nyen-nih.* (28)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
37	"	Ne *Sho-deh-gwa-seh.* (29)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gwe-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Sha-ko-ken-heh.* (30)	"
38	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	E-thoh ni-ya-wen-onh.	"
	"	Ka-rih-wa-ka-yonh.	"
	"	Shi-ho-na-de-wi-ra-ra-tye.	"
39	"	Deh-ho-di-da-ra-geh.	"
	"	Ra-go-wa-nenh.	
	"	Ne *Seh-ha-wih.* (31)	"
	"	E-thoh wa-o-rongh-ya-ron-nyon.	"
40	"	Rogh-sken-ra-kegh-de-go-wah	"
	"	Ra-go-wa-nenh.	"
	"	Teh-ho-tya-da-ka-ro-renh.	"
	"	Ne *Ska-naa-wah-tih.* (32)	"
41	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Yes-ho-ha-wak.	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
42	"	Ne *De-ka-ea-yonh.* (33)	"
	"	Yes-ho-na-da-de-kenh.	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
43	"	Ne *Tsi-non-da-wer-honh.* (34)	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
44	"	Ne *Ka-da-kwa-ra-son.* (35)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *So-you-wes.* (36)	"

	Hail, hail.	These were as brothers henceforth.	Hail, hail.
	"	Continue to listen!	"
36	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Hoh-yunh-nyen-nih.* (28)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
37	"	Thou, *Sho-deh-gwa-seh.* (29)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Sha-ko-ken-heh.* (30)	"
38	"	That was the roll of you.	"
	"	This befell	"
	"	In ancient times.	"
	"	They had their children.	"
39	"	Those the two clans.	"
	"	He, the high chief.	"
	"	Thou, *Seh-ha-wih.* (31)	"
	"	This put away the clouds.	"
40	"	He was a war chief.	"
	"	He was a principal chief.	"
	"	Acting in either office.	"
	"	Thou, *Ska-naa-wah-tih.* (32)	"
41	"	This was the roll of you.	"
	"	Then his son,	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
42	"	Thou, *De-wa-ea-yonh.* (33)	"
	"	With his brother.	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
43	"	Thou, *Tsi-non-da-wer-honh.* (34)	"
	"	This was the roll of you.	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
44	"	Thou, *Ka-da-kwa-ra-son.* (35)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *So-you-wes.* (36)	"

45	Haii haii.	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	Haii haii.
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Wa-tya-se-ronh-neh.* (37)	"
	"	Ne-thogh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
46	"	Yes-hon-da-de-ken-ah.	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *De-yoh-ron-yon-koh.* (38)	"
47	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *De-yot-ho-reh-gwenh.* (39)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
48	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Da-wen-het-hon.* (40)	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
49	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Wa-don-da-her-hah.* (41)	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
50	"	Ne *Des-ka-heh.* (42)	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Yes-ho-ton-nyh.	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
51	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Ska-nya-da-ri-yo.* (43)	"
	"	Yes-ho-na-ra-ses-hengh.	"
	"	Jat-hon-de-nyunk!	"
52	"	Ja-ta-gweh-ni-yo-shonh.	"
	"	Ne *Sha-de-ka-ron-yes.* (44)	"
	"	Ne-thoh-na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Ne *Sha-ken-jo-wa-neh.* (45)	"
53	"	Yes-ho-na-ra-ses-hengh.	"
	"	Ne *Ka-no-ka-reh.* (46)	"
	"	Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh.	"
	"	Ne *Des-ha-ye-nah.* (47)	"
54	"	Yes-ho-na-ra-ses-hengh.	"
	"	Ne *Sho-tye-na-wat.* (48)	"

45	Hail, hail.	Continue to listen!	Hail, hail.
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Wa-tya-se-ronh-neh.* (37)	"
	"	This was the roll of you.	"
46	"	With his brother.	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *De-yoh-ron-yon-koh.* (38)	"
47	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *De-yot-ho-reh-gwenh.* (39)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
48	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Da-wen-het-hon.* (40)	"
	"	This was the roll of you.	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
49	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Wa-don-da-her-hah.* (41)	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
50	"	Thou, *Des-ka-eh.* (42)	"
	"	This was the roll of you.	"
	"	Then his uncle.	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
51	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Ska-nya-da-ri-yo.* (43)	"
	"	With his cousin.	"
	"	Continue to listen!	"
52	"	Thou who wert ruler.	"
	"	Thou, *Sha-de-ka-ron-yes.* (44)	"
	"	This was the roll of you.	"
	"	Thou, *Sha-ken-jo-wa-neh.* (45)	"
53	"	With his cousin.	"
	"	Thou, *Ka-no-ka-reh.* (46)	"
	"	This was the roll of you.	"
	"	Thou, *Des-ha-ye-nah.* (47)	"
54	"	With his cousin.	"
	"	Thou, *Sho-tye-na-wat.* (48)	"

Haii haii. Ne-thoh na-te-jonh-neh. Haii haii, Haii haii.
" Ongh-wa-kegh-agh-shon-ah yo-de-nagh-stagh-he-reh
55 Ka-nagh-sta-ji-go-wah. Ya-de-ho-din-ho-ho-dah-gwen.
Haii haii. E-thoh rona-ra-ses-hengh. Haii haii.
" Ya-de-nin-hoh-ha-nogh-neh. "
" Ne *Ka-non-ke-rih-da-wih.* (49) "
56 " Yes-ho-na-ra-ses-hengh. "
" Ne *De-yoh-nin-ho-ka-ra-wenh.* (50) "
" E-thoh na-te-jonh-neh. "
" O-nen wa-tyon-gwen-ten-da-neh "
" Ka-ni-gon-ra-keh. Haii haii, haii haii, haii haii.

Hail, hail. This was the roll of you. Hail, hail Hail, hail.
" Then in later times they made additions "
55 To the great house. These were at the doorway.
Hail, hail. They who were his cousins. Hail, hail.
" These two guarded the doorway. "
" Thou, *Ka-non-ke-rih-da-wih.* (49) "
56 " With his cousin. "
" Thou, *De-yoh-nin-ho-ka-ra-wenh.* (50) "
" This was the roll of you. "
" Now we are dejected "
" In our minds. Hail, hail, hail, hail, hail, hail.

The songs are given in no copy precisely in the order in which they are used, the roll call song, for instance, being partly sung on the way to the woodside fire, being interrupted by the ceremonies there. On leaving that it is resumed, either from the beginning or the interruption, but is terminated soon after reaching the council house. The words of mutual greeting follow in this appropriate place, and a mourning chant succeeds. Then a curtain is hung across the center of the council house, dividing the two brotherhoods. On the side where the visiting brothers are seated, seven bunches of wampum are hung over a stick, and several Indians, with bowed heads, sing the Great Hymn over these. The effect is fine. The curtain is then removed, having been intended to represent the way in which women cover the head while looking on the dead. A chief of the condoling party takes the wampum, a bunch at a time, holding it in his hand and chanting a sympathetic speech. [*See* sixth tune] This commences in a very peculiar way, but otherwise the chant is almost monotonous. At the end of each division he delivers wampum to the mourners, but the speech seems to call for more wampum. The curtain is hung again, the mourners sing the Great Hymn, and the curtain is finally taken away. Then the mourners speak to the visitors. They have received but six bunches, the first having been replaced at once on the stick. Usually now the one who has delivered the mourning wampum acts for the other brotherhood, going across the central space and facing the other way.

The chant and ceremony are repeated by them in turn, the wampum being given back with a slight change in words. This form Mr Hale found in what he thought the Onondaga dialect, but which was mainly Mohawk. He called it the *Book of the Younger Nations,* but it is used by either brotherhood as circumstances require, a few words being changed. Daniel La Fort's manuscript was used by Mr Hale, slight variations occurring in copying it, but none affecting the sense. Having the original in his hands the writer went carefully over this with the Rev. Albert Cusick (Sa-go-na-qua-de), who had used this part of the installation ceremony. The proper sounds are given and there is a division into words and syllables. In repeating this form, great stress is laid upon a syllable or word at intervals, and the rest follows in a rapid monotone.

First condolence song

The Roll Call of the Chiefs, sung on the way to the woodside fire and council house, and in the latter

Andante

Arranged by Rev. Albert Cusick,
Onondaga Castle, 1905

Ha ii Ha ii Ha ii Ha ii O nenh jat hon dek.
Sa wa rih whi sa an ongh que.
Ka ya ne renh ko wah.
O nenh wah-ka rih-wa-ka yon ne.

Ha ii Ha ii Ha ii hot sood.

(This part is sung after the lost chief's name in each national division.)

Second condolence song

Sung at the woodside fire when the invitation wampum is returned

Arranged by Rev. Albert Cusick,
Onondaga Castle, 1905

O nen weghniserade wakatyerenkowa Desawennawenrade.

Third condolence song

Hail, my Grandsires, at hanging of the curtains

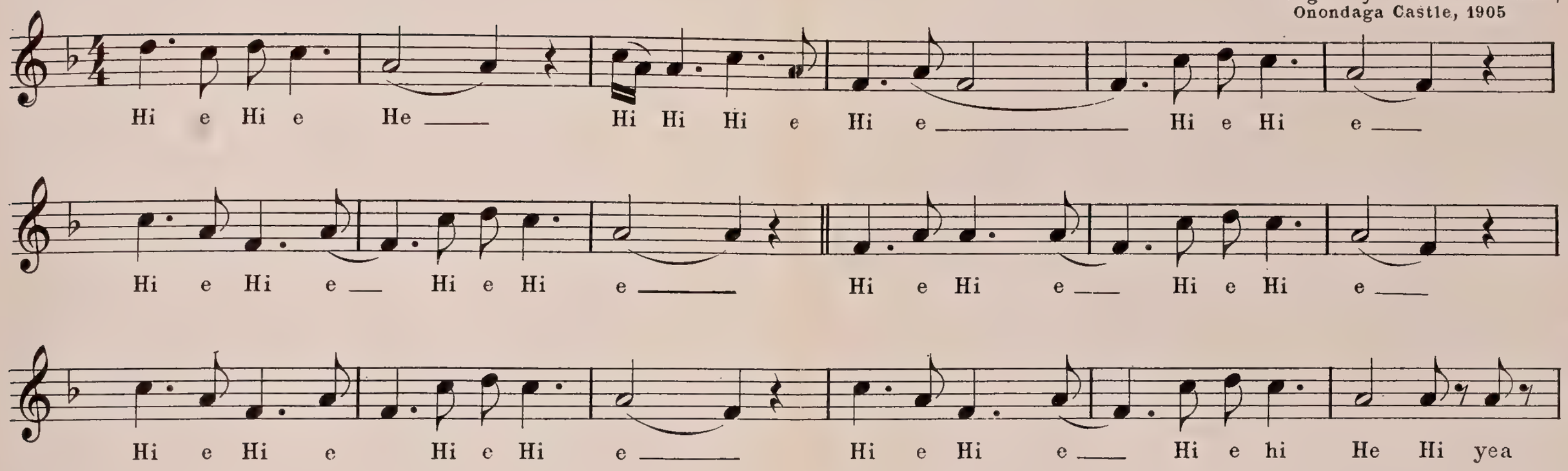
Arranged by Rev. Albert Cusick,
Onondaga Castle, 1905

Ai, Rax hot ta hyh. Onen kajat thon dek Onen enyonts da renh ne yet si ya de reh!

Fourth condolence song

Sung while the curtains remain hung

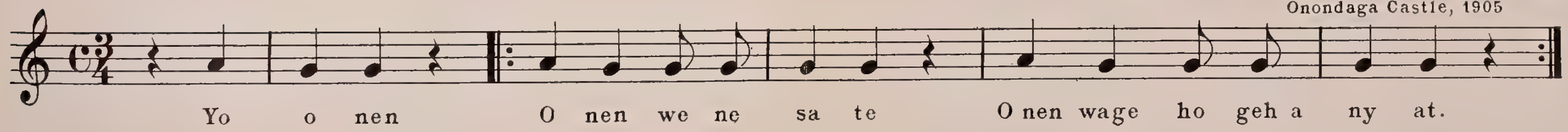
Arranged by Rev. Albert Cusick,
Onondaga Castle, 1905



Sixth condolence song

Reading wampum chant, which is repeated with the return of wampum

Arranged by Rev. Albert Cusick,
Onondaga Castle, 1905



Fifth condolence tune, or the great hymn

Sung over the wampum, behind the curtain

Arranged by Rev. Albert Cusick,
Onondaga Castle, 1905

Hi e Hi e He ___ Hi Hi Hi e Hi e ___ Hi e Hi e ___ 1. Ka -
2. Khe -
3. O -
4. Wa -
5. Ron -
6. Ron -

ya - na - renh Des - ke - nongh - we - ron - neh, Ka - ya - ne - renh - des - ka - nong We - ron - neh Hi
ya - da - wenh Des - ke - nongh - we - ron - neh Khe - ya - da - wenh - des - ka - nong We - ron - neh
yen - kon - donh Des - ke - nongh - we - ron - neh O - yen - kon - donh - des - ka - nong We - ron - neh
kon - nyk - ih Des - ke - nongh - we - ron - neh Wa - kon - nyk - ih - des - ka - nong We - ron - neh
keh - sot - tah Ro - di - righ - wa - keh - neh Ron - keh - sot - tah - ro - di - righ Wa - keh - neh
keh - sot - tah Ji - yat - thon - dek - neh Ron - keh - sot - tah Ji - yat thon - dek - neh

e Hi e ___ Hi e Hi e Hi e Hi e ___ Hi e Hi e ___ Hi e Hi e ___ Hi e Hi e ___ 1. Ka -
2. Khe -
3. O -
4. Wa -
5. Ron -
6. Ron -

ya - na - renh Des - ke - nongh - we - ron - neh, Ka - ya - ne - renh - des - ka - nong We - ron - neh. Hi
ya - da - wenh Des - ke - nongh - we - ron - neh Khe - ya - da - wenh - des - ka - nong We - ron - neh.
yen - kon - donh Des - ke - nongh - we - ron - neh O - yen - kon - donh - des - ka - nong We - ron - neh.
kon - nyk - ih Des - ke - nongh - we - ron - neh Wa - kon - nyk - ih - des - ka - nong We - ron - neh.
keh - sot - tah Ro - di - righ - wa - keh - neh Ron - keh - sot - tah - ro - di - righ Wa - keh - neh.
keh - sot - tah Ji - yat - thon - dek - neh Ron - keh - sot - tah Ji - yat hon - dek - neh.

e Hi e ___ Hi e Hi e ___ Hi yea.

Adonwah or Thanksgiving song

Used in adoption ceremony

(As sung by Chief Joseph Lyon)

Arranged by Rev. Albert Cusick,
Onondaga Castle, 1905

Yu ka yu kwa ke na ha Yu kwa yu kwa ke na ha. Yu kwa yu kwa

O wah wah wah He He He He He He He He

ke na ha Yu kwa yu kwa ke na ha Yu kwa yu kwa ke na ha Yu kwa yu kwa ke na ha

He He He He He He He He He He He He He He He He He He He He

Yu kwa yu kwa ke na ha Yu kwa yu kwa ke na ha Yu kwa yu kwa

He He He He He He He He He He He He

ke na ha Yu kwa yu kwa ke na ha O wah

he O wah wah wah!

This song has been placed after this account, as the song of the younger brothers, but may become that of the elder three. In all these, Mr Hale's translation is generally followed, but with variations. It will be observed that the ceremonies are not religious, but purely civil in character, a public installation or inauguration of chiefs. For this reason those of opposing religious beliefs have no hesitation in taking part, and as all are interested there is usually a large attendance. Condolences are often several years apart. It may here be remembered that Mr Morgan took a different view of their nature, saying:

In addition to the religious councils which were held at the period of their festivals, the mourning council was always made an occasion for religious and moral instruction. Many of its exercises were of strictly religious character, and it would be more proper to designate it as a religious council, than by any other name, but for the circumstance that its object was to raise up rulers, and its ceremonies were entirely distinct from those at the regular festivals. *Morgan,* p. 125

With the full text before him the reader can judge of the corectness of this. A moral tone may be said to run through all, but there is no religious instruction, nor does religious feeling go beyond a mere expression of thankfulness. There is no act of worship from beginning to end. It is probable that Mr Morgan was impressed with the solemnity of the ceremonies, and did not sufficiently take in the meaning of the words.

There are some allusions in this delivery of the wampum which are not of themselves clear. "It was valued at 20" refers to the fact that there was an established valuation of human life. The losing of the line by the death of the woman recalls the other fact, that descent was reckoned in the female line. Leaving the horns on the grave was a command not to fill an office before a council was called. Receiving the pouch is the transmission of mourning wampum at or for such council, and the rising smoke refers to the woodside fire.

Another statement of Mr Morgan's may be noticed. It will be seen that the figure kept in view is the building of a house, and that there is no allusion to the planting of a tree of peace, so frequent in speeches in council. So the substance of what Mr Morgan says

has a place elsewhere, almost in his words, but does not appear in the condoling songs as he seems to imply. He says:

Among the injunctions left by Da-ga-no-wé-dah, the founder of the League, there was one designed to impress upon their minds the necessity of union and harmony. It was clothed in a figurative dress, as is the custom of the red man when he would produce a vivid impression. He enjoined them to plant a tree with four roots, branching severally to the north, south, east and west. Beneath its shade the sachems of the League must sit down together in perpetual unity, if they would preserve its stability, or secure the advantages it was calculated to bestow. *Morgan,* p. 120

In this way, in the testimony on the wampum belts, one story "represents an everlasting tree — always keep growing, reaching to heaven, that all nations may see it; and under it they set a general fire to burn forever — the council place of the Five Nations — and that the council fire is to be kept at the Onondagas. The Onondagas are the expounders of the law." More quaintly still did the old wampum keeper tell the story: "There is a tree set in the ground, and it touches the heavens. Under that tree sits this wampum. It sits on a log. Coals of fire are unquenchable, and the Six Nations are at this council fire held by this tribe."

In the *Iroquois Book of Rites,* Mr Hale gives the supposed meaning of the names of the towns mentioned under the several clans. In the Wolf clan Kar-he-tyon-ni, *the broad woods;* Ogh-ska-wa-se-ron-hon, *grown up to bushes again;* Gea-ti-yo, *beautiful plain;* O-nen-yo-te, *protruding stone;* Deh-se-ro-kenh, *between two lines;* Degh-ho-di-jen-ha-ra-kwen, *two families in a long house;* Ogh-re-kyon-ny he thought doubtful, and Te-yo-we-yen-don is *drooping wings.*

In the two Turtle clans Ka-negh-sa-da-keh is *on the hillside,* and On-kwe-i-yede, *a person standing there.* The others are classed as doubtful.

In the Bear clan De-ya-o-kenh is *the forks;* Jo-non-de-seh, *it is a high hill;* Ots-kwi-ra-ke-ron, *dry branches fallen to the ground;* and Ogh-na-we-ron, *the springs.*

The following he understood to be recent villages: Kar-ha-wen-ra-dongh, *taken over the woods;* Ka-ra-ken, *white;* De-yo-he-ro, *the place of flags or rushes;* De-yo-swe-ken, *outlet of the river;* Ox-den-keh, *to the old place.* These also belonged to the Bear clan,

but many historic towns are unmentioned. The names here given differ but little from those in Mr Hale's two lists, which are Mohawk and Onondaga, and in these two dialects he gives the names of the chiefs.

Chief Daniel La Fort's Six Nations Condolence, which is recited at the giving of the wampum

1 Yo o-nen, o-nen, wen-ni-sā-te, o-nen, wah-ge ho-gah-a-nya, ne cha-non wi-ne-sah-son-tah-ye. Ni-yā-nĕ, o-sah-tah-gōn-go-nah neh-tis-no-wah-ye. Nah-ye-te-nā gah-we-ē-hah-te, ne swē-ah-ge-hah. Nate-ho se-kā go ho-gah-a-nya, ne cha o-tah-ge-he-tah, nate-ho hah-te-gah-to-ji-yah-hon-on, ni-ye en-gwen-ne-ken-tah, ne ten-gon-ne-tah-hen-ne a-yen-tah.

Tah o-nen, na-on-gē-shis-swah-wah-ah-en-ton-te, na ōn-gwa-non-se-hen-tah-gwa, nen teh-hah-gwi-nah, nen gah-wen-ne-sā ha-yo-ton-hah-te nen gah-nen-hā-te ho-des-geh-ah-ke-tah, nen o-ne gah-nen-ah-te kon-tōn-wi-sas, nen o-ne a-tuk-ha-non-teys, ne-on-gwak-sat-tah, nen o-hōn-dah-gen-he-sa-nōn-teys, nen o-when-gah-ke go-yah-tah-nen-tah-hon, nate-ho na-ta-wah ta-hah-nyah-ah-kwi-nah, nen gah-wen-ne-sā hah-yo-ton-hah-te, tah o-nen te tya-quah-wen-ne-ken-hah. Nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken.

O-nen te ah-gwen-hen nah-ye-he-yah-kenh chah-ne-ho-te-kwah-te, nen on-kwah-noh-sen-hen-ta-qua, nen ōn-quah-jos-hen-tah-quah, ni-ye-ken na ho-nen nā-e-na-te-was-hen ne-yu-e-wah. Nate-ho ne-ho-te-yen-nen-tah-e tah-dā-was-hen nen ne-yo-e-wah na ah-wen-ha-yo-tak-ke nen wah-ōn gwah-twen-non-ty. O-nen en-hen-way-ah-son nen nate-ho hōn-ne-yah-quah-ya-ah, nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken.

O-nen te-ē ō-yah nen ton-tah-yah-quah-wen-ne-ken-hah. Ni-he-yah-ken na-ah-kwa-ton se-jik-wah-ty-en-dōn-tye o-yah-na son-quah yo-tens-nah-tah ni-ye-te-nā hon-sah-ho-hah-we-te-hah-tye nen gah-nen-hā-te ho-te-sken-ah-ga-tah, nen o-ne gah-nen-hā-te gon-tōn-we-sus on-sah-hō-nah-tah-kwe-hah-te nan-ya hah-tes-koh-no-wen na o-nen na-en-gah-na-tye-nen-hah nen whah-ton-we-sus ar-gwas sē-jik na te yo-nen hase en-wah-nen-hah-wit-hah, nen ōnequah-tā-chah, o-nen ō-yah nen ā tā-kā-non-tyes, onequah-tā-chah-ni-ye ōne sah-ho-hah-we-te-hah-tye, o-nen ō-yah nen on-dah-gen-he-sa-non-tyes, o-nen gah-ge go-yah-tah-nen-tak-hon nate-ho, nā-to-wah on-sah-ho-hah-we-te-hah-tye.

1 O-nen te-ē o-yah, ton-tah-yah-quah-wen-ne-ken-hah. Nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken. O-nen te ton-tah-kwen-ten-hek, nen o-nen ton-tah-yah-tyah-ton-tye, nen wa-gon-yon-jah-nen tuk-ten tah o-nen hā-o-yah nen ta-yu-quah-wen-ne-ken-e-hah-tye. O-nen te ah-gwen-han, o-nen wah-ah-quah-de-yen-non-nyah-hen na-shah-non-we, ne-ho-tah-quah-hen-ten. O-nen wa-tya-quah ha-tah-wen-ya-hon, nen ah-ō-ah-sōn-ah, nen tah-yon-quah-ty. Nate-ho hah-ne-yah-quah-yā-ah, nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken.

2 O-nen te-ē ō-yah nen ton-tah-yah-quah-wen-ne-ken-hah. Nen o-son-tah-gon-go-nah, nen te-sno-wah-yen. O-nen te ton-sah-gon-en-nyah-tah-chat-hus argh-washe-yah gah-te de-jo-ah-gā-wen. O-nen te sah-gon-ah-quah-nen-tak-ten sken-nen-jik-te tench-kah-ha-te. O-nen ent-kah-ah-qui-kent-hah, nate-ho tench-kah-ha-te. O-nen, yo-nen-tyon-hah-te. Argh-was ten-yo-ten-hah-en-ton-nyoh-ne, nate-ho, ten-gah-hah-tye, argh-was, sken-nen-jik ten-yo-yah-naks, ne o-nen, en-skah-a-quen-hah. O-nen te, yah-wen-hah hen-jo-hah-ten-hah sah-ne-gon-ha. Nate-ho, hah-ne-yah-quah-yā-ah, nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken.

3 O-nen te-ē ō-yah nen ton-tah-yah-quah-wen-ne-ken-hah. O-nen nen-te wah-tyah-gwah-see-hine-an-quah te-sah-hōn-tah-gah-hen-tah, nen ta-yu-daht-se-hah-te, nen te-sā-nyah-ton-ken-hon, ne-te ah-gwah-nā-gen-tah ne-jah-wa-kah-he-ē, nen oge-quah-en-yon nen tā-sah-nah-ton-ken. O-te nen yah-wen-hah nen en-jo-hah-ten-hah. Nate-ho hon-ne-yah-quah-yā-ah, nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken.

4 O-nen te-ē ō-yah nen ton-tah-yah-quah-wen-ne-ken-tye. O-nen ton-son-wah-kon-hā-cha-hā-yen-hoo, nen tā-kah-kon-cha-hon-ton-we-hah-tye. O-nen te nen sah-gon-jis-tah-yen-hos. O-nen-o-ni nen ton-sah-gon-ha-tike. O-nen te nen yah-wen-hah nen-jo-hah-ten sah-ne-gon-hā. Nate-ho, hon-ne-yah-quah-yā-ah, nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken.

5 O-nen te-ē ō-yah nen ton-tah-yah-quah-wen-ne-ken-hah. Ni-ya-te-ah-gwen-han nen tā-chē-tah nen jah-tah-te-whah-ten nen ton-gah-ke-sen, nen na-hon-yah-nā nen on-hah-wen-ne-gen-tah nah-yā-nā sah-hon-tah-ji-when ah-kwe ah-son nen sen-wen-hat. Nate-ho o-ne nis nen yah-wen-yea-wen-hah hah-go-wah nen hon-yah-na ah-hah-wen-ne-kent-hah ah-kwe ah-sen nen sah-wen-hat. Nate-ho, ho-ne-yah-quah-yā-ah, nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken.

6 O-nen te-ē ō-yah nen ton-tah-yah-quah-wen-ne-ken-hah. Ni-ya-te-ah-gwen-han nen an-hah-tye-nen-ha nen na-hon-yah-na nā-ya-ti-nāt nen ne-yo-sah-tah-ken-yah-tah nen ji-gah-hak nen ta-hon-nah-gah-en-tah-kwi-nah na-che-ne-yo-sno-we nen ō-yah en-sah-tya-tah-nya-tah, ah-sen. Nate-ho, ho-ne-yah-quah-yā-ah, nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tah-te-ken.

7 O-nen te-ē ō-yah nen ton-tah-yah-quah-wen-ne-ken-hah. Ni-ya-te-ah-gwen-hah sah-gon-nea-tah-chut-hus nen gah-nye-gah-you-ne-te-ah nen jah-nea-gah-nah-sis-ah nen nate-ho wah-ah-quah-sens-tah nate-ho te-ah-sah-wa nen ton-gah-ge-san-e-his-an skah-gen-nen one-ge-ne-ha-yat nen wah-o-yan-quah-ya-ton o-nen te nen yah-gah-ken ta-gah-nah-squaw-yo-an-ne. Nate-ho, ho-ne-yah-quah-yā-ah, nen ah-sen, ne-yah-quah-tak-te-ken.

Tah o-nen, sah-gon-yan-nen-tah-ah. Tah o-nen te-ē ton-tah-ken yut-has.

The Onondaga book of the younger brothers as translated into English

1 Now — now this day — now I come to your door where you are mourning in great darkness, prostrate with grief. For this reason we have come here to mourn with you. I will enter your door, and come before the ashes, and mourn with you there; and I will speak these words to comfort you.

Now our uncle has passed away, he who used to work for all, that they might see the brighter days to come, — for the whole body of warriors, and also for the whole body of women, and also for the children that were running around, and also for the little ones creeping on the ground, and also those that are tied to the cradle boards: for all these he used to work that they might see the bright days to come. This we say and do, we three brothers.

Now the ancient lawgivers have declared — our uncles that are gone, and also our elder brothers — they have said: It is worth 20 — it was valued at 20 — and this was the price of the one who is dead. And we put our words on it [i. e. the wampum] and they recall his name — the one that is dead. This we say and do, we three brothers.

Now there is another thing we say, we younger brothers. He who has worked for us has gone afar off; and he will also in time

take with him all these — the whole body of warriors, and also the whole body of women — all these will go with him. But it is still harder when the women shall die, because with her the line of descent is lost. And also the grandchildren and the little ones who are running around — these he will take away; and also those that are creeping on the ground, and also those that are on the cradle boards; all these he will take away with him.

1 Now then another thing we will say, we younger brothers. Now you must feel for us; for we come here of our own good will — we come to your door that we might say this. And we will say that we will try to do you good. When the grave has been made, we will make it still better. We will adorn it well, and cover it with moss. This we say and do, we three brothers.

2 Now another thing we will say, we younger brothers. You are mourning in the deep darkness. I will make the sky clear for you, so that you will not see a cloud. And also I will cause the sun to shine upon you, so that you can look upon it peacefully when it goes down. You shall see it when it is going. Yea! the sun shall seem to be hanging just over you, and you shall look upon it peacefully as it goes down. Now I have hope that you will yet see the pleasant days. This we say and do, we three brothers.

3 Now then another thing we will say, we younger brothers. Now we will open your ears, and also your throat, for there is something that has been choking you, and we will also give you water which shall wash down all the troubles you have in your throat. We shall hope that then your mind will recover its cheerfulness. This we say and do, we three brothers.

4 Now then there is another thing we say, we younger brothers. We will now make the fire anew, and cause it to burn again. And now you can go out before the people, and go on with your duties and your labors for the people. This we say and do, we three brothers.

5 Now also there is another thing we say, we younger brothers. You must converse with your nephews; and if they say what is good, you must listen to it. Do not cast it aside. And also if the warriors should say anything that is good, do not reject it. This we say and do, we three brothers.

6 Now then another thing we say, we younger brothers. If any one should fall — it may be a principal chief will fall and descend into the grave — then the horns shall be left on the grave, and as soon as possible another shall be put in his place. This we say and do, we three brothers.

7 Now then another thing we say, we younger brothers. We will gird the belt on you, with the pouch, and the next death will receive the pouch; whenever you shall know that there is death among us, when the fire is made and the smoke is rising. This we say and do, we three brothers.

Now I have finished. Now show me the man! [The one to be made chief.]

When all the wampum has been delivered the speaker says: "Now show me the man," that is, the one to be made a chief. The mourners reply: "Wait a little." The curtain is again hung, followed by singing. Then it is removed and the wampum is returned in the same way in which it was given as said before, but before each address the mourners say: "You said so and so." This done, the new chiefs are presented and receive wampum and brief charges. It often happens that there is a dispute over someone who is to be installed.

The writer has used a fine copy of some Canadian songs which was brought from Canada, but this does not include several things which Mr Hale found elsewhere. He found a manuscript book at Onondaga Castle in 1880, written in the Onondaga dialect. The list of chiefs in this "closed with the words, "*shotinastasonta kanastajkona Ontaskaeken,*'— literally, 'they added a frame pole to the great framework, the Tuscarora nation.'" *Hale,* p. 153. He said also:

In the ms. book referred to in the last note, the list of councilors was preceded by a paragraph, written like prose, but with many of these interjections interspersed through it. The interpreter, Albert Cusick, an intelligent and educated man, assured me that this was a song, and at my request, he chanted a few staves of it, after the native fashion. The following are the words of this hymn, arranged as they are sung. It will be seen that it is a sort of cento or compilation, in the Onondaga dialect, of passages from various portions of the *Canienga Book of Rites,* and chiefly from the section (29) now under consideration:—

Haihhaih!	Woe! Woe!
Jiya-thontek!	Hearken ye!
Niyonkha!	We are diminished!
Haihhaih!	Woe! Woe!
Tejoskawayenton!	The cleared land has become a thicket.
Haihhaih!	Woe! Woe!
Skahentohenyon!	The clear places are deserted!
Hai!	Woe!
Shatyherarta —	They are in their graves —
Hotyiwisahongwe —	They who established it —
Hai!	Woe!
Kayaneengoha.	The Great League.
Netikenen honen	Yet they declared
Nene kenyoiwatatye —	It should endure —
Kayaneengowane.	The Great League.
Hai!	Woe!
Wakaiwakayonnheha.	Their work has grown old.
Hai!	Woe!
Netho watyongwententhe.	Thus we are become miserable.

This would follow verse 5 succeeding the Great Hymn: *The League I Come Again to Greet and Thank.* Of this hymn Mr Hale said in his *Iroquois Condoling Council:*

The keynote of the hymn may be said to be struck by its first line . . . The word *kayanerenh,* as has already been said, means properly "peace," in which sense it is used throughout the Iroquois version of the English prayer book in such expressions as "The Prince of Peace," "give peace in our time." Here it is a contracted form of the longer term *Kayanerenh-kowa,* "Great Peace," which is the regular and, so to speak, official name of their league or constitution. Thus the speaker, or rather singer, begins by saluting the League of Peace, whose blessings they enjoy . . . In the next line of the hymn the singer greets the chief's kindred, who are the special objects of the public sympathy. Then he salutes the *oyenkondonh,* a term which has been rendered "warriors" . . . It comprises all the men (the manhood or mankind) of the nation, as in the following verse the word *wakonnykih,* which is also obsolete, signifies all the women of the people. *Hale.* Condoling Council, p. 62, 63

In this also Mr Hale gave another version of this hymn, saying:

The lines of the translated hymn have been cast into the meter of Longfellow's *Hiawatha.* The version in these lines, however inadequate, will give a better idea of the true force of the original than a bald literal translation. We are to imagine in the singing, that

each line is twice repeated, and is followed by many ejaculations of *Haih-haih!* "All hail!"

To the Great Peace bring we greeting!
To the dead Chief's kindred, greeting!
To the strong men round him, greeting!
To the mourning women, greeting!
These our grandsire's words repeating,
Graciously, O Grandsires, hear us!

In the *Book of Rites,* Mr Hale said:

In the Onondaga book before referred to a few pages were occupied by what might be styled a pagan sermon, composed of exhortations addressed to the chiefs, urging them to do their duty to the community. The following is the commencement of this curious composition, which may serve to illustrate both the words now under consideration and the character of the people. The orthography is much better than that of La Fort's book, the vowels generally having the Italian sound, and the spelling being tolerably uniform. The translation was made by Albert Cusick, and is for the most part closely literal. The discourse commences with a "text," after the fashion which the pagan exhorter had probably learned from the missionaries:—

Naye ne iwaton ne gayanencher:

Onen wahagwatatjistagenhas ne Thatontarho. Onen wagayengwaeten, naye ne watkaenya, esta netho tina enyontkawaonk. Ne enagenyon nwatkaonwenjage shanonwe nwakayengwaeten netho titentyetongenta shanonwe nwakayayengwaeten, ne tokat gishens enyagoiwayentaha ne oyatonwetti.

Netho hiya nigawennonten ne ongwanencher ne Ayakt Niy ongyon wenjage ne Tyongwehonwe.

Otti nawahoten ne oyengwaetakwit? Nayehiya, ne agwegeh enhonatiwagwaisyonk ne hatigowanes,—tenhontatnonongwak gagweki, oni enshagotino-ongwak ne honityogwa, engenk ne hotisgenrhergeta, oni ne genthouwisash, oni ne hongwagsata, one ne ashonsthateyetigaher ne ongwagsata; netho niyoh tehatinya agweke sne sgennon enyonnontonnyonhet, ne hegentyogwagwegi. Naye ne hatigowaneus neye gagwegi honatiiwayenni sha oni nenyotik honityogwa shanya yagonigonheten. Ne tokat gishen naye enyagotiwatentyeti, negaewane akwashen ne honiyatwa shontyawenih.

Translation

The law says this:

Now the council fire was lighted by Atotarho. Now the smoke rises and ascends to the sky, that everybody may see it. The tribes of the different nations where the smoke appeared shall come

directly where the smoke arises, if, perhaps, they have any business for the council to consider.

These are the words of our law,— of the Six Nations of Indians (Ongwehonwe).

What is the purpose of the smoke? It is this — that the chiefs must all be honest; that they must all love one another; and that they must have regard for their people,— including the women, and also our children, and also those children whom we have not yet seen; so much they must care for, that all may be in peace, even the whole nation. It is the duty of the chiefs to do this, and they have the power to govern their people. If there is anything to be done for the good of the people, it is their duty to do it. *Hale.* Book of Rites, p. 169

It will be observed that the usual name of Kinosioni, *the long house,* appears but once in the songs, being replaced, as has been said, by the earlier term of Kayanerenhkowa, the *Great Peace.* Another word appears less formally, Kanaghstajikowa, *the great building,* and once in an additional document, Ongwehonwe, *real or original men,* is used for the Five Nations, being one of their common names. The Great Peace was an expressive name for the first days of the confederacy as it was then but little more than an agreement not to fight each other, but to amicably arrange mutual difficulties.

According to Mr Hale the number of wampum bunches differs in Canada from that in New York, though this may be a slight oversight on his part. He said:

The wampum beads were variously disposed in these strings, according to the topic which they were intended to recall. For instance, the most mournful subject — the reference to the death of the late chief — was indicated by a string entirely black. The complete consolation of the shining sun was figured by a string or knot of pure white beads. In some of the strings the white beads predominated, and in others the black. They varied also in their length, and in the number (from one to three strings) appropriated to each topic. The style of recitation was somewhat remarkable. It was neither singing nor ordinary speaking, but a mode of utterance evidently peculiar to this part of the ceremony. He spoke in brief sentences, each commencing with a high, sudden, explosive outburst, and gradually sinking to the close, where it ended abruptly, in a quick, rising inflection. The whole was plainly a set form of phrases, which the speaker was reciting with a sort of perfunctory fervor. Occasionally there was a brief response — a low

wail of assent — from the upper corner, where the chiefs of the elder nations sat motionless, with their heads bowed, during the whole recital. The ceremony had taken nearly an hour, and some eleven or twelve of the wampum tokens had passed before it was completed. *Hale,* p. 56

In the condolences which the writer has attended in New York but seven bunches were used, quite uniform in character, some containing a little significant white wampum, but no strings were entirely white. The tone of delivery was also peculiar, but not so energetic as that described by Mr Hale, nor was the ceremony as long. A set of Onondaga mourning wampum was one of the illustrations of the bulletin on wampum, and is reproduced here as figure 5. Four bunches have a few white beads, some speeches having a more cheerful tone than the rest. It will be readily seen, however, that three or four more bunches might properly be used in this song.

In that monograph the writer erroneously mentioned 52 chiefs as named in the song, instead of 50, the actual number that may be thus raised. In one song, however, the name of Dekanawidah also appears, but he had no successor, though his name is third in Morgan's list. This error he corrected in 1880. All the lists examined give 50 chiefs, as numbered in the version here used, but the great founder of the league stands apart from these. The names vary much in the different dialects and a comparative list is given.

	MOHAWK	ONONDAGA	SENECA
1	De-ka-ri-ho-kenh	Te-ki-e-ho-ken	Da-ga-e-o-ga
2	A-yonh-wha-thah	Hi-e-wat-ha	Ha-yo-went-ha
3	Sha-de-ka-ri-wa-teh	Sha-te-ki-e-wat-he	Sa-de-kei-wa-deh
4	Sha-ren-ho-wa-neh	Sah-e-ho-na	So-a-e-wa-ah
5	De-yoen-heh-gwenh	Te-you-ha-kwen	Da-yo-ho-go
6	Ogh-ren-re-go-wah	O-weh-he-go-na	O-a-a-go-wa
7	De-hen-na-ka-ri-neh	Te-hah-nah-gai-eh-ne	Da-an-no-ga-e-neh
8	Agh-sta-wen-se-ront-hah	Ha-stah-wen-sent-hah	Has-da-weh-se-ont-ha
9	Sho-sko-ha-ro-wa-neh	Sau-te-gai-e-wat-ha	Sa-da-ga-e-wa-deh
10	O-dats-he-deh	O-tats-heh-te	Ho-das-ha-teh
11	Ka-non-kwen-yo-tonh	Ga-no-gwen-u-ton	Ga-no-gweh-yo-do
12	De-yoh-ha-kwen-deh	Ty-o-ha-gwen-te	Da-yo-ha-gwen-da
13	Sho-non-ses	Sho-non-ses	So-no-sase
14	De-ho-na-o-ken-agh	To-na-oh-ge-na	To-no-a-ga-o
15	Hah-tya-den-nen-tha	Ha-tya-ton-nent-ha	Ha-de-a-dun-nent-ha
16	Te-wa-ta-hon-ten-yonk	Te-ha-tah-on-ten-yonk	Da-wa-da-o-da-yo
17	Ka-nya-dagh-sha-yenh	Ha-nea-tok-hae-yea	Ga-ne-a-dus-ha-yeh
18	Hon-wah-tsa-don-neh	Ho-was-ha-tah-koo	Ho-wus-ha-da-o
19	A-do-dar-hoh	Tah-too-ta-hoo	To-do-da-ho
20	O-neh-sengh-hen	Ho-ne-sa-ha	To-nes-sa-ah

	MOHAWK	ONONDAGA	SENECA
21	De-hat-kah-thos	Te-hat-kah-tons	Da-at-ga-dose
22	Ska-nya-da-ji-wak	O-ya-ta-je-wak	Ga-nea-da-je-wake
23	A-we-ken-yat	Ah-we-ke-yat	Ah-wa-ga-yat
24	De-ha-yat-kwa-yen	Te-hah-yut-kwa-ye	Da-a-yat-gwa-e
25	Ho-non-wi-reh-tonh	Ho-no-weeh-to	Ho-no-we-na-to
26	Ka-wen-nen-se-ron-ton	Ga-wen-ne-sen-ton	Ga-wa-na-san-do
27	Ha-rir-ronh	Ha-he-ho	Ha-e-ho
28	Hoh-yunh-nyen-nih	Ho-neo-nea-ne	Ho-yo-ne-a-ne
29	Sho-da-kwa-ra-shonh	Sha-de-gwa-se	Sa-da-qua-seh
30	Sha-ko-ken-heh	Sah-ko-ke-he	Sa-go-ga-ha
31	Seh-ha-wih	Hoo-sah-ha-hon	Ho-sa-ha-ho
32	Ska-naa-wah-tih	Ska-nah-wah-ti	Ska-no-wun-de
33	De-ka-ea-yonk	Te-ka-ha-hoonk	Da-ga-a-yo
34	Tsi-non-da-wer-honh	Ta-ge-non-tah-we-yu	Da-je-no-da-weh-o
35	Ka-da-kwa-ra-son	Ka-ta-kwa-je	Ga-da-gwa-sa
36	Sho-yon-wese	So-yone-wes	So-yo-wase
37	Wa-tya-se-ronh-neh	Ha-ta-as-yon-e	Ha-de-as-yo-no
38	De-yoh-ron-yon-koh	To-wen-yon-go	Da-yo-o-yo-go
39	De-yot-ho-reh-gwenh	Jote-to-wa-ko	Jote-ho-weh-ko
40	Da-wen-het-hon	Ta-hah-wet-ho	De-a-wate-ho
41	Wa-don-da-her-hah	Too-tah-he-ho	To-da-e-ho
42	Des-ka-eh	Des-kah-he	Des-ga-heh
43	Ska-nya-da-ri-yo	Kan-ya-tai-yo	Ga-ne-o-di-yo
44	Sha-de-ka-ron-yes	Sat-ta-kaa-yes	Sa-da-ga-o-yase
45	Sha-ken-jo-wa-neh	Sa-ken-jo-nah	Sa-geh-jo-wa
46	Ka-no-ka-reh	Ga-noon-gai-e	Ga-no-gi-e
47	Des-ha-ye-nah	Nis-hi-nea-nent-hah	Nis-ha-ne-a-nent
48	Sho-tye-na-wat	Sa-tea-na-wat	Sa-de-a-no-wus
49	Ka-non-ke-rih-da-wih	Kah-none-ge-eh-tah-we	Ga-no-go-e-da-we
50	De-yoh-nin-ho-ka-ra-wehm	Ta-ho-ne-ho-gah-wen	Do-ne-ho-ga-we

To the above may be added the official roll kept in the council house at Ohsweken on the Grand River Reservation, as published by Mr Chadwick. In this some titles have become extinct in Canada, and part of these are temporarily filled by pine tree chiefs. The 13 Tuscarora chiefs are also added, though there are but four of these in Canada.

MOHAWKS

1 Tehkarihoken
2 Ayonwatha
3 Sadekariwadeh
4 Sahrehowaneh
5 Deyonhehgweh
6 Orenrehgowah
7 Dehhehnagareneh
8 Rastawehserondah
9 Sosskoharowaneh

ONEIDAS

10 Odatschedeh
11 Kanongweyondoh
12 Dehyonhhagwedeh
13 Shononhsese
14 Dwenaohkenha
15 Atyadonentha
16 Dewatahonhtenyonk
17 Kaniyatashayonk
18 Owatshadehha

ONONDAGAS

19 Dathodahonh
20 Ohnnehsahhen
21 Dehhatkatons
22 Honvadagewak
23 Awekenyade
24 Dehhahyatgwaeh
25 Hononweyehde
26 Kohwanehsehdonh
27 Hahehonk
28 Hoyonhnyaneh
29 Sohdehquasenh
30 Sakokehheh
31 Raserhaghrhonk
32 Skanawadeh

CAYUGAS

33 Dehkaehyonh
34 Kajinondawehhon
35 Katawarasonh
36 Shoyonwese
37 Now held by a Wakanehdodeh or pine tree chief
38 Dyonyonhgo
39 Dehyondhowehgo
40 Dyonwatehon
41 Atontaraheha
42 Deskaheh

SENECAS

43 Skanyadahehyoh
44 Sadehkaonhyeas
45 Skakenjowane
46 Kanohkye
47 Nisharyenen
48 Satyenawat
49 Kanonkeedawe
50 Deyonnehohkaweh

TUSCARORAS

Sagwarithra
Nehawenaha
Tyogwawaken
Nakayendenh
Dehgwadehha
Nehchanenagon
Nayonkawehha
Nayonchakden
Karihdawagen
Thanadakgwa
Karinyenta
Nehnokaweh
Nehkahehwathea

NANTICOKES

Sakokaryes
Rarihwetyeha

These have become official titles, and some frequently appear in Indian history for nearly three centuries past, but do not always represent the clans to which they once belonged, nor is their meaning always clear, though most are well ascertained. These will be given by numbers and varying interpretations noted.

1 *Two voices,* but Morgan makes it *neutral,* or *the shield.* 2 In Morgan, *the man who combs.* Hale interpreted it as *one who seeks the wampum belt.* From Rev. Albert Cusick, the writer had the meaning of *one who looks for his mind, which he has lost but knows where to find,* Hiawatha's plans being thought visionary by his people. 3 *Two stories in one,* or *the same story from two persons.* Hale interprets it as *two equal statements or other equal things,* and Morgan as *endless.* 4 *He is a high tree with large branches.* Morgan interprets it as *small speech.* 5 *Double life,* or *that which we live on.* Morgan renders it *at the forks,* a natural result of his spelling. 6 *Large flower.* In Morgan, *at the great river.* 7 *Going with two horns,* or *two horns lying down.* Morgan has *dragging his horns.* 8 *He puts on or holds the rattles.* Morgan has it *hanging up rattles.* 9 *He is a great drift of wood;* according to Morgan, *even tempered.*

These were the nine Mohawk councilors, Dekanawidah not being reckoned. Both he and Hiawatha are said to have been Onondagas adopted by the Mohawks.

The nine Oneida councilors come next on the list. 10 *Bearing a quiver.* Morgan has it *bearing a burden.* 11 *Setting up ears of corn in a row.* In Morgan it is *a man covered with cat-tail down.* 12 *Open voice,* but with some difference of interpretation. In Morgan it is *an opening through the woods.* 13 *His long house.* In Morgan *a long string.* 14 *Two branches,* probably of water, but Morgan has it *a man with a headache.* 15 *He swallows his own body.* Hale makes it *he lowers or slides himself down,* and Morgan agrees with the first definition. 16 *Two hanging ears.* Morgan defines it *place of the echo.* 17 *Throat lying down,* or *easy throat.* In Morgan *a war club on the ground.* 18 *They disinter him,* but Hale interprets it as *he is buried,* and Morgan as *a man steaming himself.*

There are 14 Onondaga councilors. 19 All agree that this is *entangled,* alluding to his snaky headdress. 20 Doubtfully thought to mean *the best soil uppermost.* 21 *Looking all over,* or *on the watch.* 22 *Bitter in the throat. Bitter body* in Morgan. 23 *End of the water,* or *end of his journey.* 24 *Red on the wing.* 25 *He has disappeared or sunk out of sight.* When keeper of the wampum he is called Hochustanona. 26 *Her voice is scattered or suspended.* 27 *Spilling now and then.* 28 *Something was made for him,* or *laid down before him.* 29 *He is bruised.* 30 *He saw them or may see them.* In Morgan *having a glimpse.* 31 *Wearing a knife or hatchet in his belt. Large mouth* in Morgan. 32 *Over the waters.* In Morgan, *over the creek.*

The next 10 councilors are Cayugas. 33 *He looks both ways,* as a scout, but Morgan makes this spy *a man frightened.* 34 *Coming on its knees.* 35 *It was bruised.* 36 *He has a long wampum belt.* 37 *He puts one on another,* or *piles them on.* 38 *It touches the sky.* 39 *Cold on both sides.* In Morgan *very cold.* 40 *Mossy place.* 41 *Crowding himself in.* 42 *Resting on it.*

There are eight Seneca councilors. 43 *Handsome lake,* probably *great lake* at first. The prophet of the new religion bore this name. 44 *Skies of equal length.* In Morgan, *level heavens.* 45 *Large forehead.* 46 *Threatened.* 47 *The day fell down. Falling day* in Morgan. 48 *He holds on to it. Assistant* in Morgan. 49 *They burned their hair,* or *hair burned off.* 50 *Open door.*

Mr Morgan did not give the meaning of all and adds to these chiefs two great Seneca war chiefs, as military leaders of the whole confederacy. This hardly agrees with history or positive Iroquois statements. So shrewd a people would hardly have confined this office to one nation or clan, but he says that Ta-wan-ne-ars, *needle breaker,* of the Seneca Wolf clan, and So-no-so-wa, *great oyster shell,* of the Turtle tribe, had such offices by hereditary right. On the other hand David Cusick said that the laws of the confederacy provided that the Mohawks should furnish "a great war chief of the Five Nations." An Onondaga was chosen to lead the Iroquois against the Eries.

As now conducted a condolence lasts several hours, and those who attend are quite ready for the bountiful feast which follows, while the young people find as much pleasure in the evening dances.

Early writers do not describe the condolence fully, though some features of it often appear, and some belonged to all formal occasions. The forest paths were symbolically cleared, thorns were taken out of the feet, tears were wiped away, the throat and ears were cleansed that all might speak and hear, the heart was restored to its right place, and clouds were removed from the sun in the sky. Blood was washed from the seat, if any one had died, graves were leveled or covered, the bones of the slain were gathered and hidden under the roots of some great tree, temporarily swayed from its place. It sprang back and they were seen no more. The special song, which has been given in full, is more particularly mentioned in Sir William Johnson's account of his coming to Onondaga, June 18, 1756, to condole the death of Kaughswughtioony:

About an English mile on this side of the Castle, 3 Cayougas met him, and a halt was made of two hours, to settle the formalities of the condolence, agreeable to the ancient Custom of the 6 Nations. Then Sir William marched on at the Head of the Sachems singing the condoling song which contains the names, laws and Customs of their renowned ancestors, and praying to god that their deceased Brother might be blessed with happiness in his other state, this Ceremony was performed by Abraham the chief Mohawk Sachem, Tesanunda, and Canaghquayeson chief Sachems of Oneida. When they became within sight of the Castle the Head Sachems and Warriors met Sir William, where he was stopped they having placed themselves in a Half Moon across the Road sitting in profound silence, there a Halt was made about an hour during which time

the aforesaid Sachems sung the condoling song: This being over Rozinoghyata, with several other councillors or Sachems rose up, and shook hands with Sir William and bid him and his company wellcome to their Town or Castle. Then Sir William marched on at the Head of the Warriors the Sachems falling into the Rear, and continued singing their condoling song. *O'Callaghan*, 7:133

Conrad Weiser mentioned something of the kind at an ordinary council at Onondaga, when the formation of the union was recalled, and the names of the first chiefs repeated. This will be quoted later, and occurred July 30, 1743.

Before Weiser reached Onondaga in 1750, Canassatego had died, and at first it was thought no council could be held, but as he had come a long way the chiefs reconsidered the matter, and sent word that they would meet him. He said, on this point:

It is to be known that the Six Nations don't meet in Council when they are in mourning till some of their Friends or Neighbours wipe off their Tears and comfort their Heart; it is a certain ceremony, and if they appear in Council without that Ceremony being performed, the dead Person was of no Credit or Esteem and it is a certain affront to the deceased Friends, if he has any. *Hazard*, 5:474

On this occasion some Onondaga chiefs met him on the way, and "one," said Weiser, "began to sing a Lamentation Song, just when we set out, to signify to me in an allegorical way, that the Town I was going to was no more inhabited by such good Friends as formerly, and now more especially since the *Word* died, meaning Canassatego, the evil Spirits would reign and bring forth Thorns and Briars out of the Earth."

Canassatego's name meant *Upsetting a house placed in order*, but he had long been their speaker or *Word*, and this expression was used instead of his name, from a curious Iroquois custom of which Weiser took note. Reference was made in the council to "the Death of that great Man our Word, who died but the other day (a dead man's name must not be mentioned among the People.)" *Hazard*, 5:476. This must have been awkward at times, when several were condoled. In July 1751, Weiser met the Indians at Albany, and employed Canaghquieson to perform all necessary ceremonies for him, he being an expert in such matters:

After most of the Indians met, Canachquaieson stood up and begged me to walk up and down the Floor and to sing Lamentation Songs in very melancholy Time, which he continued till all were

met and some time after in the Song mention was made of the Person or Persons for which he mourned, and their virtue praised. *Hazard,* 5:541

In Morgan's *Ancient Society* are what seem ideal accounts of various councils. He describes the mourning council as commonly lasting five days, though everything is now done in one, as it seems to have been in the Mohawk mourning of 1670. In his scheme the dead chief was lamented at sunrise, and the sachems of the afflicted nation marched out with their people to formally receive the visitors who were waiting outside the town. In all accounts extant, they wait outside for the visitors, at the fire at the wood's edge, of which he speaks. In all cases the visitors were greeted and a procession was formed. The lament and responses were chanted on the way to the council fire, as a tribute of respect to the dead. The opening of the council was the business of the first day.

On the second the installation ceremonies commenced, usually lasting into the fourth. The sachems were seated in two divisions, as in a civil council, the younger brothers acting for the elder when these were bereaved. A chief raised for the elder nations was installed as a father; if of the younger as a son. The wampum belts [strings?] were produced and explained, one at a time, by a chief who passed to and fro between the lines, reading from these. These proceedings took up the morning of each day, and games and amusements filled the rest. To show that this account is ideal, it is only necessary to quote Mr Morgan's account of the council he attended at Tonawanda, October 1847. Most of the delegates had arrived on Monday, but he said the council had been postponed to Wednesday, and was followed by a religious council on Thursday. He said:

About midday on Wednesday, the council commenced. The ceremonies with which it was opened and conducted were certainly unique — almost indescribable; and as its proceedings were in the Seneca tongue, they were in a great measure unintelligible, and in fact profoundly mysterious to the palefaces. One of the chief objects for which the council had been convoked, as has been heretofore editorially stated in the *American,* was to fill two vacancies in the sachemships of the Senecas, which had been made by the death of the former incumbents; and preceding the installation of the candidates for the succession, there was a general and dolorous lament for the deceased sachems, the utterance of which, together with the repetition of the laws of the confederacy — the installation

of the new sachems — the impeachment and deposition of three unfaithful sachems — the elevation of others in their stead, and the performance of the various ceremonies attendant upon these proceedings, consumed the principal part of the afternoon. At the setting of the sun, a bountiful repast, consisting of an innumerable number of rather formidable looking chunks of boiled fresh beef, and an abundance of bread and succotash, was brought into the council house. The manner of saying grace on this occasion was indeed peculiar. A kettle being brought, hot and smoking from the fire, and placed in the center of the council house, there proceeded from a single person, in a high shrill key, a prolonged and monotonous sound, resembling that of the syllable *wah* or *yah*. This was immediately followed by a response from the whole multitude, uttering in a low and profoundly guttural but protracted tone, the syllable *whe* or *swe*, and this concluded grace. *Schoolcraft*, p. 228

There is no mourning council on record half as long as that imagined by Mr Morgan, and his account of the one in 1847 would suffice for the one attended by the writer in 1903. Indeed in early days the installation of a chief seems to have been a very brief and simple ceremony, not necessarily connected with the mourning council. Certain usages had been linked with the latter, as when some Cayugas said, in 1697: "You know our custom is to condole the dead by wampum." Then they began to look for the approval of the French and English colonists. Two Onondaga sachems had died without the customary notice of death to the English, and at a council in 1698 the speaker said:

That before the approvement of this government they could nor would not choose any other in their room, they had already acquainted the other nations. The Lieut. Gov. according to the usual ceremonies gave a bunch of wampum, condoling the sachems' loss, and approving what choice they should make among themselves.

In June, 1701, the Onondagas informed the French and English that they had lost one of their chief captains, and appointed another with the same name, giving each of the other nations a bunch of wampum. The Cayugas made a similar announcement with bunches of wampum. At a council in 1737, those present wished the business deferred for a short time, "because they would this day condole the death of the two sachems who lately died, according to the ancient custom of their ancestors, and until that was done they were like children under age, who can not act in public affairs."

At an ordinary council in 1755, the chief Oneida sachem presented a boy before the other nations present, raising him up as a sachem in place of Connochquisie, who was dead, giving him the same name. He did the same in an address to Johnson, with a string of wampum. Later in this council the Oneidas and Tuscaroras presented two young men to be made sachems, and "desired that they might be accepted as such, and that the Col. would distinguish them with the usual clothing as such." There seems to have been no elaborate ceremonial at the time, but this might have followed among themselves. There were some significant utterances at this council, pointing to a natural variation in ceremonies. The speaker said to Johnson:

If we are deficient in any manner of form, or should forget to answer in a particular manner any part of your speech, we hope you will excuse us. We only depend upon our memories, and can not have recourse, as you may, to any written records . . . We are much obliged to you for renewing our ancient forms. You have records of these things, and we thank you for putting us in mind of them.

About this time notice was taken of the division into elder and younger brothers in mourning ceremonies, but this presence did not seem essential in the raising of chiefs. In February 1756, the Oneidas said that at Canajoharie they had "lost two great men in whose stead or room we have been appointing others. Our brethern of the other nations have passed by and neglected this, which we think wrong." In that year Johnson himself raised a sachem for the Canajoharie Mohawks, saying:

As a proof of my regard for your choice I now, in the presence of your whole castle, invest him with all the powers of a sachem, and put on him those necessary marks of distinction which I wish him long life to wear.

A few years later the mourning for dead chiefs and the raising of the new are more directly connected. The pleasure which the Iroquois had in the share the French took in raising their chiefs led Johnson to take part also, and he seems to have aided in adding to the earlier ceremonies and making them more effective. The foregoing notes will be found in *New York Colonial Documents.*

Iroquois ceremonial manuscripts

The *Iroquois Book of Rites* contains an interesting account of the finding of the manuscript of the condoling songs by Horatio Hale, its learned author. He had heard of a book used in connection with the mourning councils, and in 1879 two copies were brought to him by two principal chiefs of the Iroquois in Canada. Other books had been printed for the Mohawks early in the 18th century, and many could read and write very well. They supposed that the songs and speeches used in the condolence were written down in New York by a Mohawk chief who was a friend of Brant, and were thus faithfully preserved. Chief John "Smoke" Johnson, from whom Hale had his first copy, made it in 1832 at the request of an old chief. The latter had the original and feared it might be lost, as indeed soon happened in a fire.

Chief John Buck, the Onondaga wampum keeper, had the other. In this the syllables were separated, and the proper names had Onondaga forms. Mr Hale said:

> The copy was evidently not made from that of Chief Johnson, as it supplies some omissions in that copy. On the other hand, it omits some matters, and, in particular, nearly all the adjurations and descriptive epithets which form the closing litany accompanying the list of hereditary councilors. The copy appears, from a memorandum written in it, to have been made by one John Green who, it seems, was formerly a pupil of the Mohawk Institute at Brantford. It bears the date of November, 1874. *Hale*, p. 43

The translation was made by Chief J. S. Johnson and his son, and revised by the Rev. Isaac Bearfoot. This does not include what Mr Hale called *The Book of the Younger Nations*, information of which he obtained at Onondaga, N. Y. in 1875. At that time he had a list of the principal chiefs in the Onondaga dialect from Daniel La Fort, and also a copy of the condoling song in the same language. La Fort read from a small book what Mr Hale thought were personal notes, but which afterward seemed to him of more value. To make sure, he went to the Onondaga Reservation again in 1880, and found that this was a valuable addition to the Mohawk book. La Fort had copied this from his father's manuscript, which was peculiar in spelling, but John Buck said the speeches are precisely like those used in Canada, and the writer himself has heard them in condolences in New York. La

Fort and Albert Cusick translated these speeches for Mr Hale. The latter also made some extracts from Onondaga manuscripts relating to the same subject, part of which are quoted here.

In the report of the Bureau of Ethnology on linguistic fieldwork for 1884–85, are notes on some Mohawk and Onondaga manuscripts copied or secured by Mrs Erminnie A. Smith:

The Mohawk manuscript was copied about the year 1830 by Chief John "Smoke" Johnson from an earlier original or perhaps copy. The orthography of this copy is quite regular and is that of the early English missionaries, being similar in many respects to the well known Pickering alphabet. One of the Onondaga manuscripts was found in the possession of Mr Daniel La Fort and the other in that of Mrs John A. Jones, both of the Onondaga Reserve, New York. These two copies differ from each other in orthography and substance, the Jones manuscript being probably a full detail of a part of the other.

The orthography of the La Fort manuscript is very irregular and difficult to read, but that of the Jones manuscript is regular and legible. The Mohawk manuscript contains a detailed account of the rites and ceremonies, speeches and songs, of the condoling and inducting council of the Iroquoian League in the form in which that council was conducted by the elder brothers or members of the Onondagas, Mohawk and Seneca divisions . . . The La Fort Onondaga manuscript comprises a similar ritual of the same council as carried out by the younger brothers, viz: the Cayuga, Oneida and Tuscarora members . . . The Jones Onondaga manuscript is the charge of the principal shaman to the newly elected or inducted chief or chiefs. *Bur. of Eth.* 6: xxxi

The latter is elsewhere said to contain "a number of questions put to the candidate, his replies to the same, a résumé of duties of the new chief to his colleagues and to his people, and their duty to him. It contains, also, quotations from a condoling speech by a *large tree man* (Oneida), and forms of repentance of wrong deeds done by the chiefs. To a certain extent Oneida idioms occur to the exclusion of those of other Indian dialects." *Pilling,* p. 132. It is now in the library of Wellesley College.

In 1902 the writer borrowed a fine copy of the Mohawk condoling songs from Chief Orris Farmer of the Onondaga Reservation in New York. It had been written very distinctly by Chief Kahynodoe, or George Key, of the Grand River Reservation, Canada. It has about a page more than is found in Hale's version, part of

which is explanatory, and includes the full rendering of *Haii,* not given by Hale. The words are divided into syllables and arbitrarily into verses, and the chiefs are numbered in order. The arrangement of the songs is different from his, and the spelling often varies, but the material differences are not great.

About the same time the La Fort manuscript was placed in the writer's hands for examination and copying. One date on this was June 2, 1875, but a heading reads: *Six Nation Condolence this Paper Onondaga Castle, N. Y.* 1885. There were slight differences between this and Mr Hale's copy, chiefly in the vowels, but with occasional omissions of words or letters. None of these were important. With the aid of Rev. Albert Cusick the whole was revised with improved orthography. A list of chiefs was appended to this copy, but not the song in which they are included, and there are a few other notes. One Onondaga story is that the principal songs were once thought to be lost, but luckily an old woman was found who remembered them well. Better care was taken of them afterward.

Variations in the songs

In a long ceremony like the condolence, it may be expected that the speaker or singer may sometimes change the order or words, and this happens here. March 15, 1894, Mr H. E. Krehbiel of New York, lectured before the Woman's University Club of that city on *Hiawatha and the Rites of the Condoling Council of the Iroquois,* and this led to some correspondence with the writer. Mr Krehbiel said:

I have the song of greeting and the Litany, and also other portions which I wrote out from the singing of John Buck. Mr Hale, to whom I sent the music, seemed much disturbed by my information that our chant was extremely fragmentary compared with this book. I did not take the whole of the Litany, because it seemed to be repetition, but as far as I took it it was in consonance with the text as printed on my program.

Mr Hale is supported by many copies, and carelessness on the singer's part will account for discrepancies, and by comparison with the version given here it will be seen that the *Haii* may be used indefinitely and at the pleasure of the singer. First will be given the song called "Hail" as sung by John Buck, and no one will

doubt that it was faithfully rendered by one of Mr Krehbiel's musical ability. The translation follows the original, but in the former *Haii* will be but partially given:

Karenna Yondonghs "Hai! Hai!"

Hai! Hai! Hai! Khe-ya-da-wendh des-ke-non we-lon-ne!
Hai, hai, hai, hai, hai!
Hai, hai, hai! Ka-yon-ne-lenh des-ke-non we-lon-ne!
Hai, hai, hai, hai, hai!
Hai, hai, hai! Wa-kon-ne-de des-ke-non we-lon-ne!
Hai, hai, hai, hai, hai!
Hai, hai, hai! O-yen-kon-donh des-ke-non we-lon-ne!
Hai, hai, hai! Ron-keg-so-tah lo-ti-ri wa-ne!
Hai, hai, hai, hai, hai!
Ji-ya-thon-dek-ne Ron-keg-so-tah ji-ya-thon-dek Ji-ya-thon-dek-ne!

The hymn called Hail! in English

Hail, hail, hail! I come again to greet and thank the kindred!
" " I come again to greet and thank the League!
" " I come again to greet and thank the women!
" " I come again to greet and thank the warriors!
My forefathers — what they established —
Hearken to them — my forefathers.

A specimen is also given by him of the song with the names, sometimes called the Iroquois Litany, by the Indians the *Roll Call of the Chiefs:*

Hai, hai, hai, hai! Ji-ya-thon de-yonk-ha.
Hai, hai! Ja-tag-wen-i-o-ton, Hai, hai!
Ne *De-ka-ri-ho-ken!* Hai, hai, hai, hai, hai!
Hai, hai! Ji-ya-thon de-yonk-ha.
" Ja-tag-wen-i-o-ton, Hai, hai!
Ne *Ha-yen-ne-wat-ha!* Hai, hai, hai, hai, hai, hai!
Hai, hai! Ji-ya-thon-de-yonk-ha.
Hai, hai! Ja-tag-wen-i-o-ton, Hai, hai!
Ne *Sha-te-ka-ri-wa-the!* Hai, hai!

Neth-no na-sne jo-en-sna; Hai, hai!
Ka-ris-wis-sa-nongh-we; Hai, hai!
Ka-ya-ne-renh-go-wa-ne; Hai, hai!
Wa-ka-righ-wa-ka-yon-ha; Hai, hai!
Ne-his-ta-ha-wis-ton; Hai, hai, hai, hados!

Translation

Hail, hail, hail, hail! Continue thou to listen,
" Thou who wert a ruler,
" *Dekarihoken!*
" Continue thou to listen,
" Thou who wert a ruler,
" *Hiawatha!*
" Continue to listen,
" Thou who wert a ruler,
" *Shatekariwathe!* Hail, hail!
" That was the roll of you,
You who were joined in the work,
You who completed the work, the Great League.
Your work has grown old, what we have established
You have taken with you! Alas! alas! alas! alas!

The dead feast

Preceding the greater and official condolence there was one connected with or following upon burial. The dead feast of the Hurons has been often described from the Relations, but had no recorded equivalent in New York though this singular custom was undoubtedly found in the western part. At intervals of a few years several towns would agree on a common feast or meeting of this kind. When the time came all the bodies of the dead were brought to the chosen town, borne by their friends in long processions, while the cry of the souls was heard through the forests. The corpse of yesterday and that of several years standing alike had an honorable place. Funeral games followed until the final ceremony came. The ghastly loads were then resumed and borne in funeral pomp to the great pit where all were interred. Hundreds were thus placed in a common grave.

Interment in New York was usually of a simpler character, but it was understood that there should be some public expression of general sympathy. To family sorrow was added a kind of minor condolence of an official character. The Relation of 1657 describes one of these at Onondaga:

After the dead man is buried, and his tomb is heaped up with food for the sustenance of his soul, and a kind of sacrifice had been made by burning a certain quantity of corn, the ancients, the friends and relatives of the deceased are invited to a feast, where each brings his presents to console those most afflicted. It is thus that they did in the presence of one of the fathers of our company, who represented at one of the ceremonies the person of Monsieur the Governor. An Ancient of the most considerable, proceeding gravely, cried in a lugubrious tone: *Ai! Ai! Ai! Agatondichon:* Alas! Alas! Alas! my dear relatives, I have neither spirit nor word with which to console you. I can do nothing but mingle my tears with yours, and lament the severity of the disease which treats us so ill: *Ai! Ai! Ai! Agatondichon!* I am yet consoled at seeing Onnontio and the rest of the French weep with us; but courage, my relatives! let us not sadden longer a guest so honorable, let us dry the tears of Onnontio by drying our own; here is a present which will dry the source of them. This present, which he made at the same time, was a beautiful collar of wampum, which was followed by presents and condolences from all the others, the liberality of the women being no less than that of the men on this occasion. The ceremony is ended by a feast, from which they take the best morsels for the sick people of distinction in the town.

While the greater condolence was for the chiefs and interested all the nations, the minor one might be used for any person and was of a more local nature. In the same year the Onondagas expressed their sympathy for the French in turn:

They have always since rendered the same offices which they use toward their most faithful friends. The chiefs among them having come with mournful cries to console us for the death of two of our Frenchmen, he who brought the presents of condolence, addressing the Father Superior, said to him: The Ancients of our country, being accustomed to dry each others tears, when they are afflicted by any misfortune, we come, Achiendase', to perform for you this duty of friendship. We weep with thee because misfortune can not touch thee without piercing us by the same stroke; and we are unable, without extreme sorrow, to see thee so ill used in our land, after having left thine own where thou wast perfectly at thy ease . . . This present is to level the earth in which I have put them,

and this other to erect a palisade around their tomb, in order that the beasts and birds of prey may not disturb their repose . . . These were the appropriate terms of the speech of this grave barbarian, which was accompanied by eight beautiful presents of wampum, which he made in the name of the public. Several individuals used the same civility and the same liberality, which we have acknowledged with interest on all occasions that we could find.

In later days it was customary to express this personal sorrow at some convenient meeting of a general nature, and sometimes after an interval of months or years. Some trace of it yet remains in the Iroquois dead feast at the end of 10 days. Long mourning is now discountenanced, being a cause of sorrow to the dead. In 1657 there was mentioned "the custom that the relatives and Ancients have, of keeping together in the night which follows the day of the funeral, in order to relate old stories," but such features were subject to frequent change, and sometimes were of a local character. There are appropriate songs and games to be used between the death and burial, but these are features of feasts and not of councils.

Adoption

Closely related to the condoling council was the ceremony of adoption, largely practised by the Iroquois and other nations. Among the former it was sometimes a wholesale measure, as when after a successful war they increased their fighting force. Often it was a family matter, a captive being given to replace some loss, but leaving the family to dispose of the prisoner as they would. Then it became an honorary distinction, conferred out of friendship and originally securing privileges. Retaining this feature to some extent it can now be had for a consideration. When Father Poncet was taken by the Mohawks in 1653 he was given to a woman in place of her brother:

So soon as I entered her cabin she began to sing the song of the dead, in which she was joined by her two daughters. I was standing near the fire during these mournful dirges; they made me sit upon a sort of table slightly raised, and then I understood I was in the place of the dead, for whom these women renewed the last mourning, to bring the deceased to life again in my person, according to their customs.

This was of a personal nature, like that of Colden's as described by him, which was of a more modern type. He said:

It is customary among them to make a Compliment of Naturalization into the Five Nations; and considering how highly they value themselves above all others, this must be no small Compliment. This is not done by any general Act of the Nation, but every single Person has a Right to it, by a Kind of Adoption. The first time I was among the Mohawks, I had this Compliment from one of their old Sachems, which he did, by giving me his own Name, Cayenderongue. He had been a notable Warrior; and he told me, that now I had a Right to assume to myself all the Acts of Valour he had performed, and that now my Name would echo from Hill to Hill all over the Five Nations. As for my Part, I thought no more of it at that Time, than as an Artifice to draw a Belly full of strong Liquor from me, for himself and his Companions; but when about ten or twelve years afterwards, my Business led me again among them, I directed the Interpreter to say something from me to the Sachems; he was for some Time at a Loss to understand their Answer, till he asked me whether I had any Name among them: I then found that I was really known to them by that Name, and that the old Sachem, from the Time he had given me his Name, had assumed another to himself. I was adopted, at that Time, into the Tribe of the Bear, and for that reason, I often afterwards had the kind Compliment of Brother Bear. *Colden,* 1: xxviii

The adoption of Father Milet when a captive will be recalled, which resulted in his being an Oneida principal chief, and the adoption of the Joncaires and others helped the French greatly. When Kirkland first visited the Senecas in 1765, he said:

Sir William likewise told me that if I was cordially received by the Senecas, I should, in a week or two, be adopted into some one of their principal families, and that I must pay particular attention to my new relations, and that it would give me the liberty of applying to them for anything I wanted. Probably I might receive this adoption into the head sachem's family. It is usually performed with some ceremony, a short speech being made on the occasion. *Ketchum,* 1:214

A little later he was adopted in the council house, "the members of the head sachem's family being present, and sitting apart by themselves." Mr Kirkland was then invited there, and a chief addressed him and the rest:

I am appointed to say to you and our young white brother, that our head sachem adopts him into his family. He will be a father

to him, and his wife will be a mother, and his sons and daughters his brothers and sisters. The head sachem then arose and took me by the hand, and called me his son, and led me to his family. I thanked him, and said I wished the Great Spirit might make me a blessing to his family. I then shook hands with his wife and children, and with all who were convened on the occasion. *Lothrop,* p. 167

Gen. Ely S. Parker, the Seneca chief, gave an account of the adoption of Lewis H. Morgan and two others in 1846 at Tonawanda. They applied for adoption October 28, and their request was approved next day, provided they gave a good feast. October 31 the ceremony took place, the candidates being seated on a bench at one end of the room. Chief Sty or Ho-cis-ta-hout, *Bill in his Mouth,* opened the council, and Jesse Spring or Ha-sque-ta-he, *Ax in Hand,* stated its object. Then he said:

They, no doubt, knew the fact that when any one chose to become a member of our nation, on their making an application to some of our leading and wise men, and providing a feast to bring the people together, we were not very scrupulous in adopting. This adoption has been referred to the chiefs, and they assented to the adoption. It now becomes the duty of the tribes to which they respectively belong to come forward and present their proper names. The people will know into which tribe they are adopted by observing who leads them around the room. The managers request the warriors to keep perfect order, and to aid in making the entertainments interesting. The first dance in order will be the War Dance, and the second the Grand Religious Dance, as the proper accompaniments of the occasion . . . Mr L. H. Morgan was then called upon to rise and stand by the side of Jesse Spring, who, laying his hand upon his shoulder, with sparkling eye and loud voice, exclaimed that this our first brother would hereafter be known by the name of Ta-ya-dao-wuk-kah. Mr C. T. Porter was then called upon to pass a similar ordeal, and he unflinchingly received the name of Da-ya-a-weh. Mr Thomas Darling was next summoned, and upon him was conferred the euphonious sobriquet of Gi-we-go.

Hon. George S. Conover and two others were adopted by the Senecas in 1885, after a good dinner and smoke. Moses Lay or Da-ya-to-koh, the head chief present, aided by 16 sachems, conducted the ceremonies in an orchard, where the council was arranged on logs on three sides of a long rectangle, one end being open. The order was announced and the chiefs and sachems were

seated, the Turtle clan being placed on the head logs. On the right were the Wolf, Bear and Beaver clans; on the left the Snipe, Deer, Heron and Hawk tribes. Music and a prayer followed, after which the candidates were seated in chairs. A woman placed a string of brooches around Mr F. H. Furniss's neck, instead of the wampum which was always used in raising a chief. A chief then announced the Seneca name of Mrs Harriet Maxwell Converse, Ga-ya-nes-ha-oh, *Keeper of the Law,* and the head chief advanced, led her to the Snipes, giving her name and commending her to their care. Their chief received and introduced her to the others, and she shook hands with all. In adopting women, the war song is not sung as when men are received.

Another chief led Mr Furniss to the center, giving his Seneca name, To-an-do-ah, *One First to See,* afterward leading him up and down while he chanted the war song. The Indians responded, the women keeping time by clapping hands. He was then led to his new mother in the Turtle clan and kissed her, the clan welcoming him. Mr Conover was made a Wolf in the same way, having the name of Hy-we-saws, *History Investigator.* Strings of brooches were given to all the candidates.

These are fair samples of the more ceremonious modes of adoption now practised. As it is a personal rather than national right the mode is often much simpler, consisting in little more than giving a name. A familiar instance is that of Bishop Spangenberg and his companions, who received names, June 10, 1745, while on their way to Onondaga. It was informal and a matter of convenience, but all three bore these names as long as they lived. The journal says:

Our guides, Shikellimy and his son, and Andrew Sattelihu, saw fit to give us Magna names, as they said ours were too difficult to pronounce. Bro. Spangenberg they named T'gerhitonti, [i. e. *a row of trees*]; John Joseph, Hajingonis [i. e. *one who twists tobacco*]; and David Zeisberger, Ganousseracheri [i. e. *on the pumpkins*].

A little more formal was the adoption of another Moravian at a council held with three Seneca chiefs in the clergy house at Philadelphia, July 17, 1749. The council had assembled, Bishop von Watteville presiding; other Indians were in the city, but at this meeting only the three sons of Shikellimy and three Senecas were present.

After being seated the Indians conferred among themselves, and remarked that it was not well that Bishop von Watteville had no Indian name by which he would be known among them, and that it was their wish to confer one on him, because he had lived among them, and had come over the "great water" to visit them. Accordingly they deliberated a long time, and decided to name him Tecarihondie, which signifies *one who brings a message or important news.* It was the name of a great Seneca chief, of the tribe of the Deer, and as he who bore it is dead, his name will be thus perpetuated. This name they announced to their white brethren, who acknowledged it with pleasure, and gave evidence of their joy that Tecarihondie was naturalized, and that he was the tenth brother who was admitted into their nation.

In his life of Red Jacket, Col. W. L. Stone gave a curious account of the adoption of Thomas Morris at Tioga Point in 1790. On this occasion he received the name of Otetiana, *always ready,* which had been Red Jacket's. This was done when the full 1600 "Indians present at the treaty, united in an offering to the moon, then being at her full. The ceremonies were performed in the evening. It was a clear night, and the moon shone with uncommon brilliancy. The host of Indians, and their neophyte, were all seated upon the ground in an extended circle, on one side of which a large fire was kept burning. The aged Cayuga chieftain, Fish-carrier, who was held in exalted veneration for his wisdom, and who had been greatly distinguished for his bravery from his youth up, officiated as the high priest of the occasion — making a long speech to the luminary, occasionally throwing tobacco into the fire as incense. On the conclusion of the address, the whole assembly prostrated themselves upon the bosom of their parent earth, and a grunting sound of approbation was uttered from mouth to mouth around the entire circle." *Stone,* p. 42

A war dance followed which nearly made trouble, but the account differs widely from other adoptions. A more personal act was that of Red Jacket in 1821. He talked with the Rev. John Breckenridge:

At the close of the conversation he proposed to give me a *name,* that henceforth I might be numbered among his friends, and admitted to the intercourse and regards of the nation. Supposing this not amiss, I consented. But before he proceeded he called for some whisky . . . After some time a small portion was sent to him at the bottom of a decanter. He looked at it,— shook it,— and

with a sneer said,— "Why here is not whisky enough for a name to float in." But no movement being made to get more, he drank it off, and proceeded with a sort of pagan orgies, to give me a name. It seemed a semicivil, semireligious ceremony. He walked around me again and again, muttering sounds which the interpreter did not venture to explain; and laying hand on me pronounced me "Con-go-gu-wah," and instantly, with great apparent delight, took me by the hand as a brother. *Stone,* p. 348

Schoolcraft gave the Onondaga account of early adoption, before it had become a mere privilege or compliment, but was a part of national policy, strengthening rather than weakening themselves by war:

Their plan was to select for adoption from the prisoners, and captives, and fragments of tribes whom they conquered. These captives were equally divided among each of the tribes, were adopted and incorporated with them, and served to make good their losses. They used the term, *We-hait-wat-sha,* in relation to these captives. This term means a body cut into parts and scattered around. *Schoolcraft,* p. 29

While a little girl, Mary Jemison was adopted by two Seneca women in the place of their dead brother. The song she heard has quite a modern sound, but follows as given by her biographer. Several women stood round, and one mournfully sang:

Oh, our brother! alas! he is dead — he has gone; he will never return! Friendless he died on the field of the slain, where his bones are yet lying unburied! Oh, who will not mourn his sad fate? No tears of his sisters were there! He fell in his prime, when his arm was most needed to keep us from danger! Alas! he has gone, and left us in sorrow, his loss to bewail! Oh, where is his spirit? His spirit went naked, and hungry it wanders, and thirsty and wounded it groans to return! Oh, helpless and wretched our brother has gone! No blanket nor food to nourish and warm him; nor candles to light him, nor weapons of war! Oh, none of these comforts had he! But well we remember his deeds! The deer he could take on the chase! The panther shrunk back at the sight of his strength! His enemies fell at his feet! He was brave and courageous in war! As the fawn he was harmless; his friendship was ardent; his temper was gentle; his pity was great! Oh, our friend, our companion, is dead! Our brother, our brother! alas, he is gone! But why do we grieve for his loss? In the strength of a warrior, undaunted he left us, to fight by the side of the chiefs! His war whoop was shrill! His rifle well aimed laid his enemies low; his tomahawk drank of

their blood; and his knife flayed their scalps while yet covered with gore! And why do we mourn? Though he fell on the field of the slain, with glory he fell; and his spirit went up to the land of his fathers in war! Then why do we mourn? With transports of joy they received him, and fed him, and clothed him, and welcomed him there! Oh, friends, he is happy; then dry up your tears. His spirit has seen our distress, and sent us a helper whom with pleasure we greet. Deh-he-wa-mis has come; then let us receive her with joy! — she is handsome and pleasant! Oh, she is our sister, and gladly we welcome her here. In the place of our brother she stands in our tribe. With care we will guard her from trouble; and may she be happy till her spirit shall leave us. *Seaver,* p. 57–59

At the annual outing of the Onondaga Historical Association, held at Onondaga Valley, June 6, 1904, the writer was adopted into the Onondaga Eel clan as Wah-kat-yu'-ten, the *Beautiful Rainbow.* It was intended to do this in the council house, when the society met there two years before, but it was then deferred for lack of time. The ceremony used did not essentially differ. Albert Cusick or Sa-go-na-qua-de, performed the customary rites in Indian costume, relating the origin of the clan and confederacy and the reasons why the honor was bestowed. He then led the new brother up and down, singing the customary song of thanksgiving and then introducing him to those of his new relatives who were present. At a meeting of the Cayuga Historical Association the next evening, after the presentation of the Cornplanter medal to Gen. John S. Clark of Auburn, in recognition of his valued Iroquois researches, that distinguished antiquarian was adopted into the same clan and nation, by the name of Hah-hah-he'-sucks, or the *Pathfinder.* In both these cases the distinction was unsought, and in this way it is rarely given. The song used was no. 7 of this bulletin, being one of the Adonwah or thanksgiving songs. They are thankful for their new brother. The ancient and monotonous *He He* accompaniment from a large body of persons gives a peculiar character to this.

Religious council

Though the Iroquois had many religious feasts the religious council is of modern institution and of a distinct character. Morgan gave the Seneca name as Ga-e-we'-yo-do Ho-de-os-hen-da-ko, *one devoted to religious observances,* mainly in the way of teach-

ing, and occupying several days. Mr Arthur C. Parker called the teachings of Handsome Lake Ga-i-wi-u or *good tidings.* There are no special rites but all the circumstances of the revelation to Handsome Lake are given, and his messages are related as closely as possible. Morgan gave a full and excellent account of this, and the writer summarized this and some others in the *Journal of American Folklore* for 1897. These councils are called like others, white wampum being used, attached to a stick. They do not occur every year, but only as desired, and are a distinct feature of what is called the new religion.

The Iroquois originally had a belief in Agreskoué, Taenyawahkee or Taronhiwagon and other divinities of whom these were the chief. According to Father Jogues, human sacrifices were sometimes offered to the former, and other early writers used his statement without credit. The later missionaries say nothing of this, though strenuous in their efforts to abolish the worship. They were successful in this among the Mohawks in 1670, and at Onondaga about the same time. At the latter place the change was more nominal than real, but there was everywhere a weakening of the old vague belief. Taenyawahkee, the *Holder of the Heavens,* is still revered, but with changed ideas of his person and character. His name is now used in religious ceremonies only at the New Year's or white dog feast. At other feasts Sone-yah-tis-sa-ye is used by the Onondagas, meaning *One that Made Us.* Sometimes the Christian Indians employ this term, but more commonly that of Ha-wen-ne-yu, *One that Rules in All Things,* usually rendered the *Great Spirit.*

There were many minor spirits. The Thunders are among these, and have yet their offerings of tobacco when rain is desired. The three supporters of life, corn, beans and squashes, are personified. Fairies and witches have a prominent place. Originally everything had its spirit, and the Indians' relation to those of animals was recognized in many curious ways. These will be passed over now, as well as the great and wonderful influence of dreams, which the Jesuit missionaries so often described. The origin and use of the religious council will form the present subject.

Central New York has originated three new religions. Mormonism had its birth there, and has become a power in the nation.

Spiritualism developed there from a small germ, and has had a wide following. The new religion of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, was intended only for one people and has been restricted to them. It had some good results, but is fast dying out.

While Iroquois belief was in its chaotic and transition state, the Seneca prophet Ga-ne-o-di-yo appeared and proclaimed a new revelation. Born on the Genesee river, about 1735, as is said, but probably later, he had a reputation for idleness and intemperance for about 60 years, differing little in this from many of his people. Becoming ill, he was thought dead, but revived, claimed a revelation, changed his ways, and taught a new religion, primarily directed against drunkenness and the sale of lands, both matters of importance. Though the date has been made 1790, the best authorities place it 10 years later. Sose-ha'-wa, his successor, definitely said it was in 1800, and this date may be considered correct. Still another proof of the date will be found in the visit of some Quakers or Friends to Onondaga in 1809. The visitors said:

> We had a satisfactory time with them, which was greatly increased when we were informed, not only by themselves, but the interpreter, that they had totally refrained from the use of ardent spirits for about nine years, and that none of the natives will touch it. *Aborigines' Com.*, p. 163

The interpreter was Ephraim Webster, and Clark gives his account, though with an erroneous date. At his trading house he treated some chiefs who were going to a council at Buffalo, and brought out the bottle for them on their return:

> To the utter astonishment of Mr Webster, every man of them refused to touch it. This he at first understood to denote the fiercest hostility . . . He was not long left in this painful state of anxiety and suspense. The chiefs explained, that they had met at Buffalo a prophet of the Seneca nation, who had assured them, and in this assurance they had the most implicit confidence, that without a total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, they and their race would shortly become extinct, that they had entered upon a resolution never again to taste the baneful article and that they hoped to be able to prevail on their nation to adopt the same salutary resolution. Many at this early day adopted the temperance principles, it is said at least three fourths of all the nation. *Clark*, 1:105

Several allusions to his character as a prophet and teacher were made by the authorities at Washington in 1802, but there is no mention of this in the preceding century.

Probably the best account of the beginning of his mission is that quoted by Morgan, as given by his grandson and successor, Sosehá-wa, at a religious council in 1848. This is substantially the same as that related by a later preacher at Onondaga in 1894, of which a full report was secured. After telling of his four years illness Handsome Lake said:

I began to have an inward conviction that my end was near. I resolved once more to exchange friendly words with my people, and I sent my daughter to summon my brothers Gy-ant-wa-ka, or *Cornplanter,* and Ta-wan-ne-ars, or *Blacksnake* . . . A man spoke from without and asked that someone might come forth. I arose, and as I attempted to step over the threshold of my door I stumbled, and would have fallen had they not caught me. They were three holy men, who looked alike and were dressed alike. There was another whom I would see later. The paint they wore seemed but one day old. Each had in his hand a shrub bearing different kinds of fruits. One of them addressing me said: We have come to comfort you. Take of these berries and eat; they will restore you to health. *Morgan,* p. 234

Before his daughter returned he seemed dead, but Blacksnake found parts of his body still warm. It was the early morning. When the sun was halfway to the zenith he opened his eyes, but answered no questions and closed them again. At noon he awoke once more, telling what he had seen and rehearsing it next day to the assembled people. The official statement at Onondaga was to the same effect, but the common story is that he lay several days inanimate, as follows: "The people gathered for the burial, but for some cause Cornplanter had the funeral delayed, and after three days the spirit of Handsome Lake came back to the body and it lived again." The source of this variation is obvious, but it is not supported by the preaching.

For full information on the doctrines of the new religion reference is made to the two accounts mentioned, though the leading features will be sketched now, principal stress being laid on the gathering in its mode of procedure. It is called by sending out strings of white wampum, with the usual tally stick attached, as in figure 2. White wampum only is used while the preaching lasts. For this there are 10 long strings united in a bunch as in figure 1. At the meeting at Onondaga in 1894, the return of the invitation wampum, the welcome speeches and answers, formed one day's

proceedings. Five days of preaching followed: that is, the meeting opened about 10 a.m., always closing at noon. Four days sufficed in 1905. Sose-há-wa gave the reason for the early hour and it belongs to other religious meetings, though not always observed. He said: "Our religion teaches that the early day is dedicated to the Great Spirit, and that the late day is granted to the spirits of the dead. It is now meridian, and I must close." It is said by some that the Great Spirit rests or goes to sleep at that hour.

At Onondaga the preaching was preceded by an eloquent invocation, in which thanks were given to the Great Spirit, the Four Persons, the Thunders who were their grandfathers, the sun, moon and earth for their varying blessings. The preacher sat in one chair, rising and leaning on it while speaking, and his assistant in another held the white wampum. This was carefully wrapped up at the close. Soon after came the great feather dance and a confession of sins on repentance wampum. The rest of the day was devoted to pleasure. This council being held in August was followed immediately by the green corn dance, lasting several days, but it was sometimes held in connection with mourning councils, and Morgan's report is of the three days' preaching in October 1848. The ceremonies he did not describe beyond saying that the opening was in the usual way, and with short speeches.

Three persons at first appeared to Handsome Lake and a fourth was to join them later. Sose-ha'-wa did not describe the coming of the last, but assumed his presence as one of the four messengers, termed Ki-yae-ne-ung-qua-ta-ka or *four persons of the Onondagas.* In the preaching of 1894 there are more particulars, the three persons telling him he would see the fourth three days later and that his coming back to earth depended on where he met him. The day came and they said:

You now see the fourth angel. You shall meet him. When you meet him he will ask if you ever heard old people say that the palefaces killed a certain person. They met him, and he asked Handsome Lake if he ever heard of a person who was killed a long time ago. He answered, I have heard old people say that such a one was killed. The man said, I am the person; and he showed all the marks made on him in killing him. He said to Handsome Lake, The white people abused me, and they think they have killed me. I say that I am not dead, but I have gone back home, because not one person believed me. So I will say that they shall not enter heaven.

While another statement is not official it goes somewhat beyond this, but is justified by it. It is from an account of the preaching written by Jairus Pierce of the Onondaga Reservation, and follows

He said he met Christ by the way, who showed him his hands, the scars, the nail holes in his hands and feet. Christ also asked him how he was getting along on earth, preaching repentance Handsome Lake's reply was that about half and half of the people believed on him. Christ said, "You are doing better than I did while on earth. But very few believed on me. They only sought to kill me, and they did kill me. I hear their prayers now, but it is too late. They will continue to pray, but it availeth nothing. There is no salvation possible for white men. They are all condemned already, with the exception of one, and that one is Gen. George Washington. You will find him on your way. He stands at the very entrance of heaven, but can go no farther."

As this was written in 1897, it seems a report of the preaching at Onondaga in 1894, but in any case the tale of the revelation has been amplified in process of time. A summary of its accepted teachings will be given.

The broad moral code is much like our own, and with minor details regarding particular actions. White people and Indians were created for different lands, and things allowed for one were harmful to the other. They ought not to intermarry. Card playing and fiddling were from the Evil Spirit, and cards and violins must not come on Iroquois reservations. They use wind instruments, but none with strings except pianos. Intemperance was a sin, and its effects and punishments were graphically described: causing lack of care, it affected the material world, corn and the products of the ground. Married people were not to be quarrelsome nor were they to part except for very serious cause. If a man had a child by one wife, left her and had a child by another, and in turn forsook that, he could not enter heaven. Parents were to arrange marriages for young people. Orphans and poor children might be adopted, insuring a future reward. Children were not to be whipped, but might be plunged in water. As each was a gift of the Great Spirit they were to be thankful for it, nor were its features to be criticized. Children were to venerate their parents and care for them in old age. Hospitality was to be generously extended, all being members of one great family. Lands ought not to be made merchandise, for they belonged to all, and the living only held them in trust for a time.

To some men the Great Spirit had given knowledge and the gift of healing, but they must not be exorbitant. Gifts might be made to them according to ability, but to save life was a sufficient reward. Tobacco was to be used with all medicine, and by this the patient was to return thanks to the Great Spirit for his recovery. It was right to look on the dead, for they were conscious of neglect, and were glad to be remembered and to hear the good resolutions of their friends. A eulogy might properly be given. It was wrong to keep the annual feast of the dead, and this was changed to 10 days' feast, but both are still kept. The seller must tell the purchaser the actual cost of any article, and anything found was to be restored if possible. The Great Spirit had intended that wild animals should be used at feasts, but things had changed and they might build comfortable houses and raise cattle. Sose-ha'-wa spoke of a morning and evening thanksgiving. At Onondaga it was said that prayer should be offered five times a day. The six principal festivals had each their special directions, the briefest of all being those for the New Year's feast. They might rest any day, but the Great Spirit had appointed no special day for them.

The way to heaven was less traveled than the other which Handsome Lake saw, where two keepers sat at the forks of the road beyond the grave, directing spirits to their future abode. Looking into one of these he saw the grotesque and appropriate punishments of evil doers. Some of these might have a future trial and restoration, but some could not. Just outside of heaven was Washington's abode, where he lived alone and speechless, but perfectly happy. Handsome Lake was not allowed to enter heaven at this time, for then he could not have returned to earth, but it was not the happy hunting grounds of his fathers. At last the earth would be destroyed, but "before this dreadful time the Great Spirit will take home the good and faithful. They will lie down to sleep, and from their sleep of death they will rise and go home to their Creator. Thus the angels said."

For the rest of his life, Handsome Lake was to preach and the chiefs were to assist him in their way. Other officers having a care of religious affairs were the Keepers of the Faith called Honun-de-ont by the Senecas. Their female assistants are termed O-nah-ta-hone-tah by the Onondagas. These had official names,

laying them aside if they gave up the office, a thing seldom done, as there were future privileges and penalties. The prophet said:

The same office exists in Heaven, the home of our Creator. They will take the same place when they arrive there. There are dreadful penalties awaiting those Keepers of the Faith who resign their office without a cause. Thus the angels said.

As his mission was commended by the authorities at Washington for its beneficial moral effects, many Indians have claimed that he had a commission from the President to preach. Jefferson said:

Go on, then, brother, in the great reformation you have undertaken. Persuade our red men to be sober and to cultivate their lands; and their women to spin and weave for their families . . . It will be a great glory to you to have been the instrument of so happy a change, and your children's children, from generation to generation, will repeat your name with love and gratitude forever. *Stone,* p. 449

This was in November 1802. In March of that year, Hon. Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, said to the Iroquois chiefs, by direction of President Jefferson:

Brothers,— The President is pleased with seeing you all in good health, after so long a journey, and he rejoices in his heart, that one of your own people has been employed to make you sober, good and happy; and that he is so well disposed to give you good advice, and to set before you so good examples.

Brothers,— If all the red people follow the advice of your friend and teacher, the Handsome Lake, and in future will be sober, honest, industrious and good, there can be no doubt that the Great Spirit will take care of you and make you happy. *Clark,* 1:107

On this occasion Handsome Lake said the four angels desired him to select two sober men to take care of the question of strong drink, and supplementary revelations came at convenient times. He made annual visits to all but the Oneidas, the latter rejecting his claims, and died on a visit to Onondaga, August 10, 1815. He was buried under the center of the old council house, a little north of the present one, where his unnoticed grave still remains. It has been proposed to erect a simple monument[1] on the spot to the memory of a remarkable man, who certainly elevated the character of his people.

After the preceding was written, the writer examined a Seneca version of this preaching, recently placed in the State Library, with

[1] This monument was erected during the summer of 1906, with appropriate ceremonies.

a free translation of the same by Mr Arthur C. Parker. There are six preachers of this religion in New York and Canada, and their oral teaching does not always agree. On this account an attempt has been made to reduce it to writing, but not with perfect success. In the version in question, besides preliminary and miscellaneous matter, there are 94 sections of direct instruction, mostly concluding with the words, "So they said, and he said it," to show that Handsome Lake faithfully transmitted the message given him by the four angels. As a specimen of this there follows section 14, on the correction of children, with Mr Parker's translation of the same. The angels speak:

Do-oh-na a-eh oh-ya-kuh as-gwa-ah-wi ne-a-eh-ha-a de-ne-huh he-ni-yon-da he-da-ga-neh no-dya-no-da-eh he-jo-he ne-we-a-ih-yas he-ni-yon-da. Na he ye-we-a-gi-ya-yah he-so-yi yo-shaw-wea-nah he-yo-da-ihs-da-nih ti-yu-de gay-gas do-da-yek gwis-da ne-wea-e-yat ti-ga-de no-ya wea-a-go-son-gwa-we-shon neh-huh na-gas yo-doh na ne-ye-sa-a sa-ga-da-te-weat da-sa-gwa-wea-ih-son gas wea-a-go-e-weat.

Ne-a-eh we-a-oh-ni-go-e-ga-duck no dya-no-da-oh he-jo-he ne-a-eh a-se-oh-wi ne-sey-non-soh neh a-sa-no-da-tey-weat oh-na son-kuh ga-nyah-a-ye-ih-wea-oh ne-sey-non-soh ne-sa-ga jo-gweh da-ne-huh a-eh-no-di-ye.

Ne-huh-wea-ih-nya-ye-huck.

Da-na ho-da-wi-wea-ih nyoh-ih-wi-sa-oh na-ya-da-ak da ha-we-oh ne-huh na-eh oh-wa-no-ah-da-oh he a-oh-wo-no-ihs-da-ni-a ti-ga-de no-ya a-ya-ga a-gos-go da-gwas-gi-sah ne-ye-sa-a ha-a da-gwis-da he-go-us-don da-oh-na wea-ih a-dya-go-nya-ya ne-huh ha-ya-go-goh-duck he-dyo-ne-goh da-gwas-ne-son he-ni-yon-we a-ya-ya-ne-ye-sa-a ah-na-sa-ga-da-te-weat ne-huh wea-ih-soh ha-da-ye-daet ne-ha-eh gwa-na-eh-ha-a de-ne-huh ne sa-gwa-soh wea-a-gus-weat oh-na na-gas-yo-do sa-ga-da-te-weat da-ga-oh-wo-na-wea a-go-ya-hih ne-sa-gwa-sah ne-huh-ga-a-eh no-di-ye ne-huh-wea-ih-nya-ye-huck.

And now we tell you another story of what people do.

An old woman punished her children unjustly. Therefore the Creator is sad, for this is wrong. Bid your relatives cease such practices.

So they said it.

So now we show you the Creator's way. Talk slowly and kindly to children, and never punish them unjustly. When a child does not obey, the mother must say, "Come to the water. I will immerse you." If the child does not obey after this warning, she must take the child to the water, and just before entering must say, "Do you now obey?" And she must say so again, and if at the

third time there is not obedience, then the child must be thrust into the water. But if the child cries for mercy she must have it, and the woman must not thrust the child into the water. If she does the sin is upon her.

So they said, and he said it.

The above transcript is literal and closely follows the native text. In the concluding section of the Gai-wiu the fourth angel is evidently represented as Jesus Christ.

Nation councils

In *Ancient Society* Mr Morgan gives an imaginary account of an early council, unlike any historic relation which the writer has seen. Supposing it to be at Onondaga the chiefs there would send messengers to the other nations, giving the time and purpose. The nearest nation sends the message to the one beyond. The sachems summoned come, each with a bundle of white cedar if the purpose is peace, or of red cedar if it is war. They come a day or two before the council, encamping near the town, being formally received at sunrise. In separate processions each nation marches from its camp to the council grove, every sachem bearing his skin robe and bundle of fagots. There the Onondaga sachems await them and a circle is formed. The Onondaga master of ceremonies stands on the east of the circle toward the rising sun. On a given signal they march around the circle, moving by north. The north side is o-to-wa-ga, *cold side;* the west ha-ga-kwas-gwa, *side toward the setting sun;* the south en-de-ih-kwa, *side of the high sun;* the east t'ka-gwit-kas-gwa, *side of the rising sun.* After marching round the circle three times in single file and the head and foot of the column being joined, the leader stops on the east side and lays down his bundle of fagots. He is followed in this by the others, one at a time, thus forming an inner circle of fagots. Then each sachem spreads his robe in the same order, and sits cross-legged on it, behind his bundle of cedar, his assistant sachem standing behind him.

The master of ceremonies then rises, takes from his pouch two dry sticks and a piece of punk, and produces fire by friction. Then he steps within the circle, sets fire to his own bundle and to the others in the order in which they are laid. When all are burning well, he gives a signal, the sachems rise and march thrice around

the circle, going north as before. Each turns fully round from time to time, exposing all sides of his person to the fire. Thus they warmed their mutual affection for each other, and thus the council would be friendly. Then they reseat themselves, each on his own robe.

In a few moments the master of ceremonies rises and fills and lights the pipe of peace from his own fire, drawing three whiffs and blowing the first toward the zenith, the second toward the earth and the third toward the sun. The first returns thanks to the Great Spirit, the second to the earth, his mother, and the third to the sun for his benefits. This is signified by acts without words. The master of ceremonies then passes the pipe of peace to the sachem on his right toward the north, who repeats his acts and passes it on, signifying in this way a pledge of faith, friendship and honor. It is almost needless to say that history preserves no trace of a council conducted in this way. It is purely ideal.

The Jesuit Relations, the Moravian journals and our own colonial documents preserve many incidents and details of Indian councils, but the customs changed from time to time. When the Iroquois subjugated other nations they were affected by them, and their contact with Europeans brought in new ceremonies, like the firing of significant salutes. There can be little doubt that Sir William Johnson greatly enriched council observances.

Father Milet's account of Iroquois embassies and councils in the Relation for 1673–74, is not the earliest of all, but is comprehensive, treating of fraternal meetings. The wampum for these was provided by the Agoianders or noble families. These met and made their contributions formally, with speeches and a feast, each taking its turn in preparing the feast. Final arrangements were made and word was sent of their coming, on which a welcome was prepared. A musket was shot from the palisade, a fire was made where the visitors were received by their hosts, the pipe of peace being smoked and speeches made. Then they were led in single file to their lodgings. A notable chief marched at the head, "and he pronounces a grand suite of words which they have received by tradition, and which they repeat after him." The ambassador who was to speak comes last, singing until after he had entered his cabin. Presents and speeches followed, ending with a feast.

The next day was one of rest; the third day the ambassadors stated their business and were answered the fourth day. The whole was terminated by compliments and a feast.

When Cartier visited Hochelaga in 1535 an old Iroquois custom was observed. He was met at a wayside fire, some distance from the town, by some chiefs who welcomed him in a long address. Then they escorted him to their capital.

At Le Moyne's first visit to Onondaga in 1654, he did not directly speak of being formally met in this way, as he did on a later occasion, but it is easily inferred, for he said: "At a quarter of a league from the village I began a harangue, which gained me much credit. I named all the chiefs, the families, and persons of note in a drawling voice and with the tone of a chief." Two chiefs made a reply.

When Chaumonot and Dablon came to Onondaga, the chief Gonaterezon came to meet them a league from the town and led them to the woodside fire a quarter of a league from Onondaga, where the great men of the place awaited them, refreshing them with their best dishes and exchanging friendly speeches. Then they were led through lines of people into the town. Like this was Father Le Moyne's second reception at Onondaga in 1661. His old friend Garakontié still loved the French:

This is why he came two leagues to meet us, accompanied by four or five others of the Ancients, an honor which they are never accustomed to give to the other ambassadors, to meet whom they are contented to go a little eighth of a league outside of the town . . . I walked gravely between two rows of people, who give me a thousand benedictions . . . I kept making my cry of Ambassador while walking . . . then having returned in two words my thanks for this good welcome, I continued my journey and my cry.

The old Mohawk word, Gawendoutatie, *to go speaking as when they go on an embassy,* seems to allude to this practice. The *two words* were short speeches emphasized with strings or belts.

Receptions at the council fires of the whites gradually took on new features, retaining some which were old. In 1694 a treaty was held in State street, Albany, with 25 Iroquois chiefs.

Ye sachims were attended with many other Indians. When ye came to ye place where ye treaty was held, they came two in a rank, Rode, ye sachim of ye Maguase being ye leader, singing all ye way,

songs of joy and peace. So, likewise, when ye were sat down, they sang two or three songs of peace before they began ye treaty. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* ser. 4, 1:106

A symbolic feature was added later, relating to the number of the Iroquois nations. Their representatives came to Albany, August 24, 1711. "About 2 O'clock in ye afternoon the 5 Nations came all down from the Hill passed by Her Maj'tys Fort which fired 5 Gunns as they went by." These salutes were always expected in Canada, and in 1757 it was said: "The Five Nations are the only ones for whose reception there is an established etiquette. An Interpreter is sent to meet them, who presents them with some Strings of Wampum, and when they enter the town they are saluted by five discharges of cannon."

Other quotations might be made, but these will suffice for early usages. Until quite recently this reception has been maintained in a modified form on great occasions, long processions meeting and escorting distinguished visitors on the New York reservations. At the last general council held with the United States at Canandaigua, in 1794, the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas arrived early. October 14 Farmer's Brother and his Senecas halted 4 miles away, to dress and paint for their entrance. At 3 p.m. they were welcomed by a long line of Oneidas, Cayugas and Onondagas, mutual salutes being fired as they passed by. All afterward formed a circle around the commissioners, who were addressed by the Seneca chief. Two days later Cornplanter's band was received with similar honors. At this treaty 1600 Indians were present. Good cheer helped the attendance, but there were other reasons. Sir William Johnson reported nearly 3000 Indians at the treaty of 1768 and 2320 at that of 1770.

Ceremonies often varied in councils. Usually tears are wiped away, good wishes exchanged, thorns taken out of the feet, the sun restored to the sky, the chain of friendship brightened and graves leveled or covered, but every council might have some peculiar ceremony. Sometimes they were quite informal, but this was rare. No speech was made without a belt, string, or other present, and each of these was hung up in the sight of all. If the speech or proposal was not accepted, the belt was returned. Speeches were often intoned, and always when quoted. When

Cammerhoff was in the council at Onondaga, June 19, 1750, he said: "To our astonishment an old Oneida began to sing the message which he had for the council, in a very high tenor voice. He continued for more than half an hour." This was from the Nanticokes. Two days later Canassatego acted for the Moravians, and took "the fathom of wampum and belt, and intoned in the usual Indian fashion the signification of each." When he explained the wampum to some chiefs in private he intoned his words. Allusions to this practice are frequent.

The speaker usually walked to and fro, and the way in which he held the wampum was significant. Sometimes this was passed around the council for inspection. If held in the open air the chiefs of each nation would gather by themselves and determine what their vote should be. In the Relation of 1654, after describing his way of speaking at Onondaga, Le Moyne said: "After this they grouped themselves by nations and bands . . . They consulted among themselves by the space of more than two good hours more. At last they recalled me among them, and gave me a seat in an honorable place." The four nations of the Hurons had the same custom, those of the same nation or village sitting near each other in a general council. Each village then quietly considered what its vote should be, thus facilitating business. The Hurons named this council "Endionraondaoné, as if one said, A council equal and easy as the plains and shaven fields."

Miss Powell described an open-air Iroquois council at Buffalo creek in 1785, which was largely attended.

Each tribe formed a circle under the shade of a tree, their faces toward each other. They never changed their place, but sat or lay upon the ground, as they liked. The speaker of each tribe stood with his back against the tree. The women walked, one by one, with great solemnity, and seated themselves behind the men. *Ketchum*

Usually after proposals were made there was an adjournment of the council to give time for this conference and agreement on a vote. If the matter was of little importance it might be decided at once. In a Six Nations' council attended by the writer in Canada, the chiefs of the elder nations quietly conferred and voted in a body by themselves, and the younger did the same, the Onondagas having the casting vote as fire keepers. No speaker is ever interrupted,

nor any temper shown. If the women have a proposal to make, they choose a chief to speak for them. Sometimes the wampum received was evenly divided at the council; at other times significant belts were kept as records.

One mode of memorizing has been sometimes mentioned and appears in Prof. Timothy Dwight's account of Indian councils:

When in council they spoke optionally; and listened to each speaker with a profound and very respectful silence; observing a decorum which might with great advantage be copied by our Congress, and your Parliament. When proposals for war or peace were made, or treaty proposed to them by the colonial governours, they met the ambassadours in council, and, at the end of each part or proposition, the principal Indian delivered a short stick to one of his council, as a token that it was his peculiar duty to remember that part. This was repeated till every proposal was finished. They then retired to deliberate among themselves; and after deliberations were ended, the sachem, or some other councilor to whom he had delegated this office, replied to every part in its turn, with an exactness scarcely exceeded in the written correspondence of civilized powers. Each man actually remembered what was communicated particularly to him; and with this assistance the person who replied remembered the whole. *Dwight*, 1:120

One feature of the above account still continues: the uniform courtesy of Iroquois debates. There are no interruptions or offensive personalities, but dignity is preserved even when patience is sorely tried. The interest will vary with the importance of the subject or the power of the speaker, but the rules of good breeding are never forgotten.

In voting by nations there was another feature. The sachems assigned to each nation were divided into classes, and in the national vote each class counted but one. The Mohawks, Oneidas and Cayugas each had three classes of principal chiefs, the Senecas four and the Onondagas five. Thus, with the latter, it was not a majority of chiefs but three classes at least that said what the Onondaga vote should be. It was much like our national electoral system. Their own clans could depose sachems for misconduct, but action on this was referred to the general council.

The time at which councils were held was often a matter of importance. Van der Donck said that Algonquin councils were held in the morning, and if the business was not finished by noon they

were adjourned to the next day. When the Cherokees came to a council in New York, they were surprised at the lateness of the hour, having a belief that "at noon the day was too far advanced for a work of peace." When Kirkland reached the Seneca castle in the evening, they deferred his business till morning, saying "it was not their custom to receive a message of peace in the darkness of the night, but in the light of day." Generally, however, Iroquois councils were held in the afternoon or evening, except those of a religious nature, and they seldom meet now for business before noon in New York, though they do in Canada. Huron councils were usually in the evening, often continuing all night. The Iroquois preferred the afternoon, unless for private sessions.

A custom of little prominence was mentioned in 1774, in connection with a council with Col. Guy Johnson. The Onondagas came to him and said:

> That all our late appointed Chiefs may be made known to you, (we) do now introduce them, that you may be well acquainted with those to whom our affairs are committed . . . This Brother is our old custom, which has been always used to acquaint those who get the management of Indians, with the names and characters of our great men. This we did on former occasions. We did it with Sir William, and now we do it with you. *O'Callaghan,* 8:506

The closing of a council might be elaborate or simple, with form or without. When Conrad Weiser was at Onondaga in August, 1743, his business was satisfactorily concluded:

> After all was over, according to the Ancient Custom of that Fire, a Song of Friendship and Joy was sung by the Chiefs, after this the Council Fire on their side was put out. I with the same Ceremony put out the Fire on behalf of Assaryquoa and Onas, and they departed. *Hazard,* 4:668

This is commonly termed covering the fire, and hence is the propriety of the Canadian term of fire-keepers for the Onondagas, from their power in councils. A religious council is closed by simply removing the wampum.

The Iroquois were mindful of the old rule to "welcome the coming, speed the parting guest." When Le Moyne left Onondaga in 1654 he not only had a farewell feast, as was customary, but "half a league from there we found a troop of old men, all peo-

ple of the council, who were waiting for me, to say Adieu, in the hope of my return, which they testified they wished for, with much eagerness."

Councils among the Iroquois were often held in chiefs' houses at the first, these usually being more spacious than others. As Van Curler passed through the Mohawk towns in 1634, he said nothing of council houses, and at Oneida a council was held in a chief's house. In another he met a deputation of Onondagas. The indoor councils with Le Moyne at Onondaga in 1654 were mostly in Garakontie's house. Father Bruyas, in his Mohawk vocabulary of 1675, recorded many words about councils, but none regarding a council house. As late as 1666 at least these primitive conditions continued, meetings being held either with a chief or in the village square. A writer describing the Iroquois in that year, said: "They assemble in the hut of a war-chief when the question is of war, and in the hut of a council chief when it is for ordinary matters of state."

Among the kindred, the Hurons, civil councils were usually held in the house of the head chief, but in the midst of the town or even in the woods in the summer. As with the Iroquois there were two kinds of chiefs, civil and war, the former having precedence, and councils of war and peace were held in their houses respectively. Among the Hurons the war chief's house was also the place of torture, and the Relation of 1637 describes an event of this kind:

It was in the cabin of one named Atsan, who is the great war captain; so it is called Otinontsiskiaj ondaon, that is to say *the house of the heads cut off*. It is there where all the councils of war are held; for the cabin where the affairs of the country are discussed, and which regards only the polity, is called Endionrra ondaon, *the council house*.

As will be seen this was but a private house used for public affairs. With its simple furniture any house was quickly prepared for these, and most were large enough. Apparently a house solely for councils was an afterthought of the first half of the 18th century, and even then it became a lodging place for honored guests. As Iroquois influence increased and reached all parts of the land, councils multiplied and the need of special accommodations was felt. La Salle had a hospitable reception by the Senecas in 1669,

but the council was in a large private house. A few words are worth quoting:

An Indian, who had the office of introducer of ambassadors, presented himself to conduct us to our lodging. We followed him, and he took us to the largest cabin of the village, where they had prepared our abode, with orders to the women of the cabin to let us lack for nothing. And in truth they were always very faithful whilst we were there to attend to our kettles, and bring us the necessary wood to light up during the night . . . At last, the 13th of August having arrived, the Indians assembled in our cabin to the number of 50 or 60 of the principal persons of the nation. Their custom is, when they come in, to sit down in the most convenient place they find vacant, regardless of rank, and at once get some fire to light their pipes, which do not leave their mouths during the whole time of the council. They say good thoughts come whilst smoking. *Galinée,* p. 23, 25.

In the councils the Five Nations were not addressed or spoken of as Onondagas, Cayugas etc., but by council names. Thus when Conrad Weiser was with "the United Nations now met in Council at Sagoghsaanagechtheyky," or Onondaga, in 1743, they spoke officially to "Togarg Honon our Brother, Nittaruntaquaa our Son, also Sonnawantowano and Tuscaroro, our Younger Sons, also our absent Brother Oungh carrydawy dionen Horarrawe." The first name is the Onondaga council name, here applied to the village, as it often was to the principal chief. The first one addressed has the Mohawk council name, the next that of the Oneidas. Then comes that of the Cayugas, and the absent Senecas are mentioned last of all. In the same journal the Oneida title is better rendered as Niharuntaquoa.

When at Onondaga, in 1750, Weiser addressed them as "the United Six Nations, to wit. Togarihoan, Sagosanagechteront, Dyionenhogaron, Neharontoquoah, Sanonowantowano, and Tuscoraro." The order here is Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas and Cayugas, while the Tuscaroras have their national name. David Cusick gave these council names as coming in the order of settlement. In this scheme the Mohawks stopped in their river and were called Te-haw-re-ho-geh, *a speech divided.* Then the Oneidas formed a settlement and took the name of Ne-haw-re-tah-go-wah, or *big tree.* The Onondagas have the title of Seuh-no-keh-te, *bearing the names,* As given above by Weiser it implies

carrying them on the shoulders while almost exhausted. The Cayugas were Soh-ne-na-we-too-na, *big pipe.* The Senecas are Ho-neen-ho-hone-tah, *possessing a door.* Being in the Oneida territory at first the Tuscaroras are addressed as Tu-hah-te-ehn-yah-wah-kon, *those who embrace a great tree.* Conrad Weiser's account of the opening of the council at Onondaga July 30, 1743, is of interest and part of it follows:

About noon, the Council then met at our Lodging, and declared themselves compleat, and a deal of Ceremonies Passed: The Onondagas rehearsed the beginning of the Union of the five Nations, Praised their Grandfathers' Wisdom in establishing the Union or Alliance, by which they became a formidable Body; that they (now living) were but Fools to their wise Fathers, Yet protected and accompanied by their Fathers' Spirit; and then the discourse was directed to the Deputies of the several Nations, and to the Messenger from Onas and Assaryquoa, then to the Nanticokes, to welcome them all to the Council Fire which was now kindled. A String of Wampum was given by Tocanontie, in behalf of the Onondagas, to wipe off the Sweat from their (the Deputies and Messengers') Bodies, and God, who had protected them all against the Evil Spirits in the Woods, who were always doing Mischief to people travelling to Onondaga, was praised. All this was done by way of a Song, the Speaker walking up and down in the House. After this the Deputies and Messengers held a Conference by themselves, and appointed Aquoyiota to return thanks for their kind reception, with another String of Wampum. Aquoyiota repeated all that was said in a Singing way, walking up and down in the House, added more in praise of their wise Fathers and of the happy union, repeated all the Names of those Ancient Chiefs that established it; they no Doubt, said he, are now God's and dwell in heaven; then Proclamation was made that the Council was now Opened, and Assaryquoa was to speak next morning in the same House, and due Attendance should be given. All those Indian Ceremonies took up that afternoon. Jo-haas from every Nation was given. *Hazard,* 4:663

They were lodged in the council house. Onas, or a *pen,* was Pennsylvania's name, and Assaryquoa, *big knife,* that of Virginia. In this council "all the Wampum were hung over a Stick laid across the House about six Foot from the Ground." John Bartram was present and mentioned this:

There was a pole laid across from one chamber to another over the passage, on this their belts and strings were hung, that all the

council might see them, and here have the matters in remembrance, in confirmation of which they were delivered. *Bartram,* p. 60

He also gave an account of the opening of this, with judicious comments:

This afternoon the chiefs met in council, and three of them spoke for nearly a quarter of an hour each, two of these while speaking, walked backward and forward in the common passage, near 2 thirds of its length, with a slow even pace, and much composure and gravity in the countenance; the other delivered what he had to say sitting in the middle, in a graceful tone exhorting them to a close indissoluble amity and unanimity, for it was by this perfect union their forefathers had conquered their enemies, were respected by their allies, and honoured by all the world; that they were now met according to their antient custom, tho' several imminent dangers stood in their way, mountains, rivers, snakes and evil spirits, but that by the assistance of the *great Spirit* they now saw each others faces according to appointment. This the interpreter told me was the opening of the diet, and was in the opinion of these people abundantly sufficient for one day, since there is nothing they contemn so much as precipitation in publick councils; indeed they esteem it at all times a mark of much levity in any one to return an immediate answer to a serious question however obvious, and they consequently spin out a Treaty, where many points are to be moved, to a great length of time. *Bartram,* p. 58

Loskiel gave an account of the council at Onondaga, which Spangenberg attended in 1745:

On each side six seats were placed, each containing six persons. No one was admitted besides the members of the council, except a few who were particularly honored. If one rose to speak, all the rest sat in profound silence, smoking their pipes. The speaker uttered his words in a singing tone, always rising a few notes at the end of each sentence. Whatever was pleasing to the council was confirmed by all with the word *nee,* or *yes.* And at the end of each speech, the whole company joined in applauding the speaker by calling *hoho. Loskiel,* p. 138

This cry of approbation is often noticed and described. It is sometimes written Jo-hah but pronounced Yo-hah. William Marshe's account is good, though it appears in his journal as Jo-bab, an evident error. In his journal of the council at Lancaster in 1744, he said:

The Indians thereupon gave the cry of approbation; by this we were sure the speech was well approved by the Indians. This cry

is usually made on presenting wampum to the Indians in a treaty, and is performed thus: The grand chief and speaker amongst them pronounces the word *jo-bab! (jo-hah!)* with a loud voice singly; then all the others join in this sound *woh!* dwelling some little time upon it, and keeping exact time with each other, and immediately with a sharp noise and force, utter this sound *wugh!* This is performed with great decorum; and with the Indians is like our English huzza! *Marshe,* 7:185

While Conrad Weiser, in the council of 1743, noted that "the usual Cry by way of Approbation and Thanks was given" after each speech, he said of one: "The solemn Cry, by way of thanksgiving and Joy, was repeated as many times as there were Nations present." This was often done when the fullest agreement was desired. The peculiar response has been described by many, and was recorded in 1695 as Jo Hue Hue Hogh. Colden gave a good account of this in the council in which he presided, August 19, 1746:

At every Stop where a Belt was given, one of the Sachems call'd out Yo-hay, to which all the rest answered in a Sound which can not be expressed in our Letters, but seemed to consist of two Words, remarkably distinguished in the Cadence; it seem'd to this purpose; the Sachem calls, Do you hear? The Answer is, We attend and remember, or understand; or else it is a Kind of Plaudit our Interpreters could not explain. At the Close of the Speech, one Sachem of each Nation call'd out severally the Yo-hay, to which the others of the same Nation answer'd severally: But when the War-Belt was thrown down, they gave the War-Shout. We expected but six of these Plaudits, according to the Number of the Six Nations, but eight were distinctly delivered; by which we understand some other Nations were united with them on this Occasion. *Colden,* p. 174

At the division of presents the eight parties appeared, two representing two tribes of Mississagas, and receiving each a part.

The next Day the War-Kettle was set over the Fire, and towards Evening the Indians in his Excellency's Presence, where many Gentlemen attended him, began the War-Dance, and continued it till late in the Night: They were painted as when they go to War. The Dance is a slow and solemn Motion, accompanied with a pathetick Song. The Indians in their Turns perform this singly, but it is not easy to describe the Particularities of it. *Colden,* p. 180

Each of the Five Nations had its own council for its own purposes, but a general one could be called by any one of these, if

occasion required. Proper notice was given by swift runners. The great council met annually at Onondaga, and for a time its main purpose was the peaceable settlement of difficulties between the nations. Insensibly the bond grew stronger and the power of the Iroquois greater. Ambassadors came from tributary or suppliant nations, nor were England and France unrepresented at Onondaga. For convenience Albany, Montreal and Philadelphia were made hearths for council fires, and others were kindled as need required. Unconfederated nations were less particular in this, and no place in New York had national importance in their own territory. With their Iroquois rulers it was different. Onondaga was the center of power and justice. To appeal to it was like the ancient appeal to Caesar. Originally merely a convenient place for settling disputes, its mandates were at last obeyed by all the Indians of the Atlantic states, and its favor was sought by the greatest nations of Europe.

Though the pipe was smoked at all councils it seems to have had no special ceremonial prominence in New York for a long time. As a feature of treaties there La Honton seems to have been the first to mention the calumet in the council at La Famine in 1684, and then as distinct from the ordinary pipe. He said of this and its high esteem:

> The Grangula sat on the east side, being plac'd at the head of his men, with his pipe in his mouth, and the great calumet of peace before him . . . The calumet of peace is made of certain stones, or of marble, whether red, black or white. The pipe or stalk is four or five foot long; the body of the calumet is eight inches long, and the mouth or head, in which the tobacco is lodged, is three inches in length; its figure approaches that of a hammer. The red calumets are most esteem'd. The savages make use of 'em for negotiations and State affairs, and especially in voyages, for when they have a calumet in their hand, they go where they will in safety. The calumet is trimm'd with yellow, white and green feathers, and has the same effect among the savages that the flag of friendship has amongst us; for to violate the rights of this venerable pipe is among them a flaming crime, that will draw down mischief upon the nations. *Lahontan,* 1:35

In this account the Onondaga chief smokes his own pipe, but there is no mention of his smoking the calumet or of any other person doing so. A little before Bruyas recorded some Mohawk words relating to its use. Gaiengwata was *to put tobacco in the calumet;*

Garoutagwanni, *to take the calumet from any one who smokes tobacco to smoke it in turn;* Wagonroutagwas, *that I may smoke in thy calumet,* but it is not mentioned as of ceremonial importance. It is much the same in the Jesuit Relations and the earlier colonial documents of New York. The Relation of 1646 refers to its common but not prominent use in councils, in describing the visit of some Mohawks to Canada: "The savages make no assembly unless with a calumet of tobacco in the mouth, and as fire is necessary to take the tobacco, they light some almost always in their assemblies."

La Salle held a council with the Senecas in 1669, and Gallinée described this and the informal way of smoking, as before quoted. Each man had his own pipe and passed it to no one else. He lighted it at once and smoked throughout the council. In these and other instances the French often called any pipe a calumet, as in the account of Iroquois customs in 1666, where it is said that when a man dies "they paint red calumets, calumets of peace on the tomb." When Count Frontenac came to Lake Ontario to build a fort in 1673, he was met by 60 Iroquois sachems, and "after having sat and as is their custom, smoked for some time, one of them" made an address. Frontenac replied that he had made a fire where they could smoke and he could talk to them. The inference is that the smoking was pleasant and social, but not in the least ceremonial.

About the same time Father Milet described some interesting Iroquois customs, and said that at formal friendly meetings the visitors kindle the woodside fire "in sign of peace, and are met by the ancients of the town. After having smoked and received compliments they are led to the cabin assigned them." In these cases there seems no definite ceremonial use, and in fact it was in 1673 that Father Marquette gave the full account of the pipe of peace and its solemn use, as he found it among the Illinois. The intimate relations of the French and western Indians brought it sooner into prominence in Canada than in New York. On the whole Charlevoix's statement, made in 1721, may be fully accepted: "It is more in use among the southern and western nations than among the eastern and northern." Lafitau said much the same. Roger Williams, Capt. John Smith and others, mention no ceremonial use of the calumet along the Atlantic coast. With the beginning of the 18th century it appears occasionally in reports of

New York councils, as something remarkable and connected with distant nations. Thus in 1712 the Delawares carried a calumet to the Iroquois which attracted attention. It had "a stone head, a wooden or cane shaft, and feathers fixt to it like wings, with other ornaments." Some western Indians came to Albany in 1723, leaving a calumet there. In explanation of their unusual present they said:

A calumet pipe among our nations is esteemed very valuable, and is the greatest token of peace and friendship we can express. A calumet pipe and tobacco is used when brethern come together.

As though this were necessary in New York they described its use and meaning, and induced the Albany people and Iroquois to smoke with them, saying:

When one brother comes to visit another it is the common practice among us to smoke a pipe in Peace together and reveal our Secrets . . . and therefore desire that according to our Custom we take each a Whiff out of a Calumet Pipe in token of Peace and Friendship Which being done said we thank the Brethern for smoking out of our Calumet of Peace and is a sufficient proof to us of your friendship. *O'Callaghan,* 5:693

Not till 1751 is there any farther account of the ceremonial pipe in New York, appearing then as something strange. The Catawba chiefs had come north on a peace embassy to Albany, and in the council, having "lit their pipes, the king and one more put them in the mouths of the chief sachems of the Six Nations, who smoked out of them." A little later, in the same council, "the chief sachem of the Senecas lit a pipe, and put it into the mouths of each of the Catawbas, who smoked out of it, and then he returned it among the Six Nations." *O'Callaghan,* 6:724

Sir William Johnson afterward presented the Onondagas with a massive calumet, for great occasions, and this was used at the council with Pontiac, held at Oswego in 1766. Then it was more frequently seen at councils in New York, but never became popular. On a certificate, used by Johnson and representing a council, the calumet lies on the ground, while Johnson, on one side of the fire, presents a medal to an Indian on the other. This interesting design is from a blank certificate belonging to the New York Historical Society. Three officers sit on a bench on one side and three Indians

on the other. The claim of friendship and a single heart are on the tree of peace. It reads as follows:

By the Honorable Sir William Johnson, Bart., His Majesty's sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department of North America, Colonel of the Six United Nations, their Allies and Dependants, etc., etc.

To *Whereas,* I have received repeated proofs of your attachment to his Britannic Majesty's Interests and Zeal for his service upon sundry occasions, more particularly

I do therefore give you this public Testimonial thereof, as a proof of his Majesty's Esteem and Approbation, Declaring you, the said to be a of your and recommending it to all his Majesty's Subjects and faithful Indian Allies to Treat and Consider you upon all occasions agreeable to your character, Station and services. Given under my hand and seal at Arms at Johnson Hall the day of 17 .

By Command of Sir W: Johnson.

The above certificate has nothing to do with an Indian council, save as the picture symbolically represents one. Another filled out and different in character was recently at the Onondaga reservation. The latter has not even this, but it seems well to place it on permanent record, and so this also follows. It is written on a well preserved parchment:

By the Honorable Sir William Johnson, Baronet, His Majesty's sole agent and superintendent of the affairs of the Six United Nations, their Allies, Dependants, and Colonel of the Same, etc.:

To the Oneidas and Tuscaroras living at and about Aughguago:

Whereas, You have on sundry occasions manifested your love and fidelity to His Majesty, the Great King George, and your sincere attachment to all his subjects, your brethern, and have plighted to him by several belts of wampum your solemn assurance that you are determained to remain firm and steadfast friends to the British interest so long as God shall give you life, and will promote the same amongst all Indians to the utmost of your brotherhood and desire all His Majesty's subjects to whom this may be shown to receive and treat you, the said Oneidas and Tuscaroras of Aughguago as good friends and brothers to the English.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Fort Johnson, this twenty-fifth day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

(Signed) William Johnson.

Practically, wampum took the place of the pipe of peace in New York for a long time, opening all councils and treaties, but the

succeeding ceremonies depended on the nature of the business. At the council at Onondaga in November 1655, with Chaumont and Dablon, the reply of the Iroquois was prefaced:

By six airs or chants, which had nothing savage and which expressed very naively, by the diversity of tones, the different passions they wished to represent. The first song said thus: *O, the beautiful land, the beautiful land, which is to be inhabited by the French.* Aagochiendaguesé commenced alone in the person of an Ancient who was taking his place, but always in the same way as though he himself had spoken; then all the others repeated, both its note and its letter agreeing marvellously well.

In the second chant the chief intoned these words: *Good news! very good news!* The others repeated them in the very same tone. Then the chief continued, *It is all good, my brother, it is every way good that we speak together, it is wholly good that we have a heavenly speech.*

The third song had a grace given it by a very melodious refrain, and said: *My brother, I salute thee; my brother, thou art welcome. Ai, ai, ai, hi. O, the beautiful voice! O, the beautiful voice that thou hast! Ai, ai, ai, hi. O, the beautiful voice, O, the beautiful voice that I also have! Ai, ai, ai, hi.*

The fourth song had another grace by the cadence which these musicians kept, striking with their feet, their hands, and their pipes, against the mat, but with such good accord that this noise so well regulating made a harmony sweet to hear; these are its words: "*My brother, I salute thee: it is all good; unfeignedly I accept the heaven which thou hast made me see; yes, I agree to it, I accept it.*

They sang for the fifth time saying: *Adieu to war, adieu to the ax; up to the present time we have been insane, but henceforth we will be brothers: yes, indeed we will be brothers.*

The last song had the words: *To-day the great peace is made. Adieu to war, Adieu to arms: for the whole affair is beautiful throughout; thou dost uphold our cabins when thou comest with us.*

These songs were followed by four beautiful presents. *Relation,* 1656

After these a Cayuga chief made a half hour's speech, ending with a song. The account goes on:

All present sang with him, but with a different and heavier tone, striking their mat in cadence, during which this man danced in the midst of all, stirring himself in a strange fashion, and sparing no part of his body, so that he made gestures with his feet, with his hands, with his head, with his eyes, with his mouth, keeping time so well with his own song and that of the others, that this appeared admirable. This is what he sang: *A, a ha Gaianderé, gaianderé,*

that is to say properly in the Latin tongue, *Io, io triumphe:* and then, *E, e, he, Gaianderé, gaianderé, O, o, ho, Gaianderé, gaianderé.* He explained what he meant by his *Gaianderé,* which signifies among them *most excellent thing.* He then said that what we others called the Faith among ourselves, ought to be called *Gaianderé* among them, and in order to signify this better he made the first present of wampum.

The early French writers abound in accounts of the pantomime common in Indian councils, especially those of the Iroquois. In one in Canada, held with the Mohawks in 1645, the presents were hung on a cord between two poles, and Kiotsaeton spoke. "After a few words he began to sing and his comrades responded. He promenaded in that great place as in a theater. He made a thousand gestures, he looked at the sky, he faced the sun, he rubbed his hands." At a later council that year, "This discourse finished, the Iroquois set himself to sing and dance; he took a Frenchman on one side, an Algonquin and Huron on the other, and holding themselves all bound with his arms, they danced in cadence and sang with a strong voice a song of peace."

The Relation of 1656 tells how Garakontie, the principal chief of the Five Nations, expressed his feelings at an Onondaga council that year. He "takes the Father by the hand, making him rise, leads him into the midst of all present, throws himself on his neck, embraces him, and holding in his hand the beautiful collar, makes a belt of it for him, protesting in the face of heaven and earth that he wishes to embrace the Faith as he embraces the Father." All councils were not so pleasant. Lord Bellomont wrote of one held in Albany, August, 1700:

> It lasted seven or eight days, and was the greatest fatigue I ever underwent in my whole life. I was shut up in a close chamber with 50 Sachems, who besides the stink of bear's grease with which they plentifully dawb'd themselves, were continually either smoaking tobacco or drinking drams of rum. *O'Callaghan,* 4:714

Many instances of this kind show that while Indian councils were dignified they were not always solemn. Humorous and witty speeches were greatly enjoyed and the Indian loved laughter as well as the white man. A very broad hint they thought not incompatible with serious business. In 1721 they said to George Burnet:

> Being informed that your Excellency is marryed at New York, We beg leave to acquaint you, that We are glad of it, and wish you

much Joy And as a token of our Rejoycing We present a few Beavers to your Lady for Pin Money, and Say withall that it is Customary for a Brother upon his Marryage to invite his Brethern to be Merry and Dance. *O'Callaghan,* 5:640

Of course the happy groom responded "and Ordered them some Barrls of Beer to be merry with all and dance which they did according to their Custom." At every council, however, the dead and the bereaved were remembered. Sometimes there was a special mourning. At a conference in Albany in 1702, "the Sachims of ye 5 Nations appeare^d^ before his Excellencys lodging at ye place prepared for their reception sung a sorrowful Song, which they had made upon ye death of his late Maj^ty^ King William ye third of blessed memory."—*O'Callaghan,* 4:986

Thomas Clarkson gave, in his biography of William Penn, an account of his great treaty and of the way in which he was dressed. In describing the Indian attendants he mentioned the horn, to which reference is made in the condoling council as an emblem of authority. He said:

One of the sachems, who was the chief of them, then put upon his own head a kind of chaplet, in which there appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive European nations, and according to Scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power; and whenever the chief, who had a right to wear it, put it on, it was understood that the place was made sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. Upon putting on this horn the Indians threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves around their chiefs, in the form of a half-moon upon the ground. *Aborigines' Com.* p. 36

In New York Indian councils, the chiefs do not seem to have worn any distinctive badge. In battle, war chiefs wore certain feathers that they might be recognized, but we have no intimation of any distinct mark for principal chiefs. In councils it was not needed. Even the introduction of medals hardly affected this. Most sachems had them, but then so did war chiefs and brave warriors. They were more marks of ability and actions than of office, a recognition of worth, but conferring no rank. This is one of the curious resemblances in our national political system and that of the Iroquois. Unquestionably exercising great power their sachems had no official distinction in dress. The horns of power conferred upon them were but figures of speech. They received authority

but without its visible emblems, and to the sight were but as before. While this was true of the Iroquois, with their acknowledged power, it seems probable that weaker tribes and men affected distinctions and display on smaller foundations.

The old custom of shaking hands at the end of a council seems now laid aside, but nearly 40 years ago (1867) the writer has seen a long row of men file past him for this friendly greeting. It was sometimes mentioned in early records. The last formal wayside reception of white men at Onondaga was in 1873, when Bishop Huntington, with a score of clergymen and many others, halted for over an hour on the road, while Captain George leisurely prepared to welcome his visitors, address and lead them on their way. The Oneidas went in long processions to escort Bishop Hobart, but receptions are very informal now, and even an important council may be like a quiet gathering of old farmers, attended with very little ceremony. Though many early features are retained in the condolence, no ceremonial dress now appears, but an adoption often has picturesque features. The one who sings the song in this usually has a distinctive dress, and sometimes dances accompany the ceremony, while the feast is a frequent feature. The recipient of the honor shakes hands with his new relations, as in earlier days.

SUPPLEMENTARY

In 1905 the writer, for his own purposes, made trips to several interesting localities and collections, securing many valuable figures and descriptions, a few of which will be briefly mentioned. The valley of the Genesee river furnished many, but a large portion of these are relics of recent times. An early mound, near Mount Morris, was examined, and both its structure and contents were of great interest. It was about 30 feet across, and among the remarkable features had a well laid layer of cobblestones some distance beneath the surface, arching and covering the sepulcher. A beautiful mound-builder's pipe was found in the mound, 780 small discoid shell beads and 72 beads of river pearls. These are the first of the latter reported in this State. In another mound in the same field a mound-builder's pipe and a native copper implement were also found. Some curious bone implements from that valley have not been published, and a massive grooved ax is among the finds there.

At a site near Richmond's Mills many curious bone articles have been found almost unique here. Fine clay pipes occur in that region. In Chenango county, along the Unadilla river, many good relics were seen, valuable more for locality than rarity. Some, however, deserve notice.

In Jefferson county many fine and absolutely unique relics have come to light. After the publication of the *Perch Lake Mounds* the writer visited the ossuary on Chaumont bay, and carefully examined the remarkable relics found there. To his medical friend, Dr Getman, the skulls were of great interest from their injuries and aftergrowth. Two amulets found in this ossuary are believed to be the first taken from a grave in this State. One of them is very broad and depressed, being quite remarkable in form. In the vicinity of Watertown many unique pipes and bone articles have come to light, several forms appearing which are as yet unpublished. It would take long to describe them adequately, but figures were secured of a large number. One clay pipe in the form of a sunfish the writer did not see. Not the least of these acquisitions were some European cylindric brass beads, from sites classed as pre-

historic. These may have come from Cartier in 1535, to whose liberal distribution of combs the Indians may have owed their first ideas of these.

In Onondaga county, many fine early articles have recently been obtained, and some interesting and unpublished bone relics are from sites over 300 years old. A few of these are absolutely unique, and suggest new uses. The long awls were employed in weaving and basket making. In that county, too, a massive grooved stone ax has been found on the high ridge between Skaneateles and Otisco lakes, and also a very large stone gouge, 11⅞ inches long, with other more common implements. Rare, as these articles are in that region, their occurrence where found is a great surprise.

The writer has not yet examined a massive silver medal offered for his inspection, and which seems of great interest. It was taken from an Oneida grave by some boys more than 60 years ago. It is of elliptic form, plain on one side and with heraldic devices on the other. An electrotype of another Iroquois Montreal medal has been procured, which he is again compelled to attribute to the Revolution rather than the old French war, as some maintain. The obverse is as usual, a city with the name of Montreal above. The reverse is *Sarahowane Ni. Canaioharees.* The latter is the tribal name of the Mohawks called Canajoharies, to whom Joseph Brant belonged. Ni seems intended for Nickus, a favorite name. The personal name is usually written Sharenhowane, *he was a tree with large branches.* This is a principal chief's title in the Wolf clan, properly borne by but one person at a time. Peter Saghsanowane was a prominent member of that clan in 1754, and the Indian name may be the same. At that time no Nickus was reported in the clan of the Wolf. According to family traditions this medal was obtained from the Indians toward the close of the Revolutionary War. Judged by the names on them, these medals certainly indicate that period.

In the vicinity of Elmira more Iroquois traces have appeared on sites where triangular arrows are exclusively associated with earthenware. Steatite does not occur on these though frequent on others. Mr L. D. Shoemaker has a well wrought human face in stone from a village site near Elmira. In three years he had collected "800 arrow and spear heads, much pottery, pestles, celts, etc."

Some notice has been taken of a quantity of articles found in a large ossuary in Niagara county. The writer has since seen the entire collection securing figures of these and other valuable articles found in that region. Among the latter are fine bird amulets. Many fine articles along the Susquehanna have had brief notices, but the figures and descriptions are as yet unpublished. This is also the case with many unique fragments of Indian pottery. The evolution of the human face and form on earthenware can now be fully illustrated, and many handles of vessels have been found. The rare pottery with circular bosses on the outside has several times been secured, and better figures of perfect vessels can now be had. Perhaps in no one department has there been a more distinct advance in our knowledge than in that of earthenware of all kinds, since the publication of the bulletin on this subject.

Since the treatment of metallic implements and ornaments many interesting examples have come to light, one fine specimen being from a burial mound. A number of photographs of wampum belts, whose history is of some interest, have also been secured. As was anticipated, the publication of this series of bulletins has called out information on almost every subject, and there is abundant material now in hand to round out our knowledge of the aborigines of New York to a great extent.

One interesting class of relics has not been mentioned, being European in character, though Indian in use. Nothing pleased the aborigines more than the early glass beads. They were used in vast quantities and were often of fine designs. Of course they are rarer now on Indian sites than they once were, but the writer has handled many thousands, and figured hundreds, plain or in colors. The reader need expect none as large as a hen's egg, as sometimes reported, but some are as large as the egg of the crow. These massive ones are angular, with concentric starry patterns of many colors appearing at the ends. From this they range down to those of a very small size. Those of the size and form of a pea are either a rich blue or Indian red as a rule, but other colors appear. Somewhat larger globular beads are striped or have the internal star pattern, and similar forms are used in our kindergartens now. On Iroquois sites later than 1620 they abound, and occasionally appear on camps.

While usually scattered over the fields the writer has found them arranged on brass wire, still well preserved after being in the earth for 250 years. On wire they were sometimes arranged in patterns.

Another very distinct class has been misunderstood by those who have not seen them. In 1654 Father Le Moyne presented the Onondagas with "cent petits tuyaux ou canons de verre rouge qui sont les diamans du pais," and in 1669 Father Bruyas, at Oneida, rewarded his good scholars with "une corde de rassade, ou deux petits tuyaux de verre ou deux bagues de leton." These "tuyaux ou canons" were slender and cylindric glass tubes, of various colors and often longitudinally striped. So slender and delicate are they that it is surprising they have escaped destruction. While some are quite small, others are several inches long, and many have a spiral twist. Most of the latter are Indian red in color. Two of these glass cylinders, or two brass rings, Bruyas seems to have thought equal in value to a string of ordinary beads.

Many carvings on bone, representing the human face, have been figured since the issue of the bulletin on that material, and some of the scrapers made of long bones so abundantly found in Ohio. From the Chaumont ossuary came the finest horn spearhead or knife as yet found in New York. It is 14 inches long and is ornamented with an elaborate pattern of straight lines on one surface.

Worthy of notice also are three shell gorgets. One from Niagara county is neatly worked from the outer whorl of *Busycon perversum,* and is 6⅛ inches long by 4⅜ wide. Two perforations have been made from the concave side, that being the side exposed to view. Another fine shell gorget from Wayne county is elliptic and perforated. This lay in the soft muddy bottom of Seneca river, and is in fine preservation. Another is from Onondaga county, and is of an obtuse oval outline, being 3 inches long by 2¾ wide. From a circle around the central perforation radiates a four pointed star, reaching halfway to the edge. Between these, arrow form ornaments reach the edge, four in number. This also is in good preservation.

Some interesting circular stone ornaments have been found near Corning, perforated and engraved with radiating lines and marginal notches. They are pebbles about an inch across.

A host of such things might be mentioned, but this brief summary

of the most notable articles must at present suffice. Something might have been said here of locally new features in stone tubes and banner stones, of amulets and curious slate knives, as well as other things, for in the nature of the case, the field is one of perpetual discovery. The wooden masks of the State Museum form an attractive branch of study, but the student must not let imagination outrun facts. In the wampum department, while many photographs and other pictures of belts have been obtained, the essential facts remain the same.

In concluding this series of bulletins, extending far beyond what was at first planned, the writer is thankful for the opportunity he has had of giving some information on an interesting subject; perhaps of aiding others in their work. In every way it has been more a pleasure than a task, so cordial have been his relations with all concerned. It is a work in which many are sharing and one which will go on, though one laborer after another finishes his part. It is a beautiful thought that death does not end all our power to help others. Our works follow us, though we rest from our labors.

AUTHORITIES

Aborigines' Com. — **Aborigines' Committee.** Some Account of the Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes. London 1844.

Barber & Howe — **Barber, John W. & Howe, Henry.** Historical Collections of the State of New York. New Haven 1844.

Bartram — **Bartram, John.** Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals . . . in his Travels from Philadelphia to Onondaga, Oswego and the Lake Ontario. London 1751.
Reprinted at Geneva, N. Y. 1895.

Beauchamp — **Beauchamp, W. M.** The Iroquois Trail; or Footprints of the Six Nations. Fayetteville, N. Y. 1892.
This includes David Cusick's history.

——— The New Religion of the Iroquois. Jour. Am. Folklore. Boston 1897.

Bur. of Eth. — **Bureau of Ethnology.** Report for 1884–85. Washington 1888.

Cammerhoff — **Cammerhoff, Frederick.** Diary of the Journey of Br. Cammerhoff and David Zeisberger to the 5 Nations from 3–14 May to 6–17 August, 1750.
Manuscript.

Chadwick — **Chadwick, Edward M.** People of the Long House. Toronto 1897.

Charlevoix — **Charlevoix, P. F. X. de.** Journal of a Voyage . . . to North America; tr. from the French. London 1761.

Clark — **Clark, J. V. H.** Onondaga or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times. Syracuse 1849.

Colden — **Colden, Cadwallader.** History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada. London 1755.

Conover — **Conover, George S.** Account of Seneca Adoption.

Coyne — **Coyne, James H.** *tr. & ed.* Exploration of the Great Lakes 1669–1670. By Dallier de Casson and De Brehant de Galinée. Toronto 1903.

Cusick, A. — **Cusick, Albert.** Onondaga Music in Manuscript.

Cusick, D. — **Cusick, David.** Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations. Lewiston 1826.
See also Iroquois Trail by W. M. Beauchamp.

Dwight	**Dwight, Timothy.** Travels in New England and New York. New Haven 1822.
Galinee	**Galinee, De Brehart de.** *See* Coyne.
Hale	**Hale, Horatio.** Iroquois Book of Rites. Philadelphia 1883.
	——— An Iroquois Condoling Council. Toronto 1895.
Hazard	**Hazard, Samuel.** *ed.* Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, 1682–1790. Philadelphia.
Johnson	**Johnson,** *Sir* **William.** Manuscript.
Ketchum	**Ketchum, William.** Buffalo and the Senecas. Buffalo 1874.
Krehbiel	**Krehbiel, H. E.** Letters and Notes on Condoling Songs.
Lahontan	**Lahontan, A. L. de D.** New Voyages to North America. London 1735.
Loskiel	**Loskiel, G. H.** History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America; tr. by C. I. La Trobe. London 1794.
Lothrop	**Lothrop, Samuel K.** Life of Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians. Boston 1864.
Marshe	**Marshe, Witham.** Journal of the Treaty Held with the Six Nations . . . in Lancaster in Pennsylvania, June 1744. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1801. Ser. 1, v. 7. Boston, 1801.
Morgan	**Morgan, L. H.** League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois. Rochester 1851.
	—— Ancient Society, New York 1877.
O'Callaghan.	**O'Callaghan, E. B.** *ed.* Documentary History of the State of New York. Albany 1849–51.
	——— *ed.* Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Albany 1853–87.
Parker, A. C.	**Parker, Arthur C.** Manuscripts in the State Library.
Parker, E. S.	**Parker, Ely S.** Account of a Seneca Adoption.
Pierce	**Pierce, Jairus.** Account of New Religion. Manuscript.
Pilling	**Pilling, James C.** Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages. Washington 1888.
Relations	**Jesuit Relations.** Relations 1611–1672. Quebec 1858. [Translations with allied documents 1610-1791; afterward published by Burrows, Cleveland, O.
Schoolcraft	**Schoolcraft, Henry R.** Notes on the Iroquois. New York 1846. Senate Document 24, N. Y. 1846.

Seaver — **Seaver, James E.** Deh-he-wa-mis; or A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison. Batavia, N. Y. 1842.

Spangenberg — **Spangenberg, Joseph.** Notes of Travel to Onondaga in 1745. Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. & Biog. Philadelphia 1879.

Stone — **Stone, William L.** Life and Times of Red Jacket, or Sa-go-ye-wat-ha. New York 1841.

Herald — **Syracuse Herald.** Preaching of Handsome Lake. 1894.

Williams — **Williams, Roger.** Key into the Language of America, ed. by J. H. Trumbull. Narragansett Club Publications 1866–74.

INDEX

Aborigines' Committee, cited, 444, 412, 437.
Adoption, ceremony of, 344, 404-10; picturesque features, 438.
Agoianders, 348, 420.
Albany, councils at, 431; reception of Iroquois at in *1711*, 422; treaty held at in *1694*, 421.
Algonquins, election of chiefs, 348.
Amulets, 439, 441.
Arrows, 440.
At the Wood's Edge (song), 352, 354-57.
Awls, 440.
Axes, 440; grooved, 439.

Barber, John W., cited, 444.
Bartram, John, cited, 444, 428.
Beads, 439, 441.
Bear clan, meaning of names of towns, 380.
Bearfoot, Rev. Isaac, mentioned, 398.
Beauchamp, W. M., adoption, 410; cited, 444, 411.
Bellomont, Lord, cited, 436.
Bird amulets, 441.
Bone, carvings on, 442.
Bone articles, 439.
Book of the Younger Nations, 398.
Brass beads, 439.
Brebeuf, cited, 353.
Breckenridge, Rev. John, adoption, 408.
Brooches, given at ceremonies of adoption, 407.
Bruyas, Father, cited, 431; mentioned, 426, 442.
Buck, Chief John, mentioned, 398, 400.
Buffalo, council at in *1785*, 423.
Bureau of Ethnology, cited, 444, 399.
Burnet, George, mentioned, 436.

Calumet in the council, 431-34.
Cammerhoff, Frederick, cited, 444, 423.
Canachquaieson, 394.
Canadian songs, 385.
Canandaigua, last general council at, 422.
Canassatego, 423; death, 394.
Canienga Book of Rites, passages from, 385-86.
Cartier, cited, 348; visit to Hochelaga in *1535*, 421.
Carvings on bone, 442.
Cayugas, council name, 427.
Ceremonial manuscripts, 398-400.
Chadwick, Edward M., cited, 444, 349, 390.
Charlevoix, P. F. X. de, cited, 444, 343, 348, 349, 432.
Chaumonot, visit to Onondaga, 421.
Chaumont bay, ossuary on, 439, 442.
Chenango county, relics, 439.
Chiefs, character and power, 345-50; election, 346, 348; exhortations addressed to, 387; line of descent through the woman, 349; lists, 389-90; names, 348; meaning of names, 391-92; how nominated in Canada, 349; number named in song, 389; office hereditary among Hurons, 348; no official distinction, 437; official resuscitation, 345; pine tree chiefs, 348.
Civil councils, *see* Nation councils.
Clark, J. V. H., cited, 444, 412, 417.
Clark, Gen. John S., adoption, 410.
Clarkson, Thomas, cited, 437.
Clay pipes, 439.
Colden, Cadwallader, cited, 444, 430; adoption, 405.

Condoling council, 344, 351-98; ceremonies described by Mr Hale, 385-89; described by Morgan, 395; ceremony after delivering wampum, 385; division into elder and younger brothers, 397; lasts several hours, 393; lasts five days according to Morgan, 395; moral and religious character, 379; new chiefs presented, 385; procedure, 378;
songs: At the Wood's Edge, 352, 354-57; Canadian, 385; ceremonial manuscripts, 398-400; Chief Daniel La Fort's Six Nations Condolence, 378, 381-85; Hail, 401; Iroquois Litany, 401-2; mentioned by Johnson, 393-94; Old Way of Mutual Greeting, 352, 356-65; Roll Call of all the Chiefs, 364-77, 401-2; variations, in, 400-2.
Congoguwah, 409.
Conover, George S., adoption, 406, 407; cited, 444.
Converse, Mrs Harriet Maxwell, adoption, 407.
Copper implements, 439.
Corning, stone ornaments near, 442.
Cornplanter, 422.
Council house, 426.
Council names of Iroquois, 427.
Councils, delegating powers, 342; extra sessions, 342; general nature of, 341-45; grand council, 342, 343; names, 342; war chiefs in, 342; wampum in, 350-51.
Coyne, James H., cited, 444.
Cusick, Rev. Albert, mentioned, 378, 387, 399, 400, 410; cited, 444.
Cusick, David, cited, 444, 393, 427.

Dablon, visit to Onondaga, 421.
Dances, at ceremonies of adoption, 406; in religious councils, 414.
Darling, Thomas, adoption, 406.
Dayaaweh, 406.
Dayatokoh, 406.
Dead feast, 344, 402-4.
Dearborn, Henry, quoted, 417.
Debates, courtesy of, 424.
Dehhewamis, 410.
Drunkenness, teachings against, 412.
Dwight, Timothy, cited, 445, 424.

Earthenware, 441.
Elmira, relics near, 440.

Farmer, Chief Orris, mentioned, 399.
Farmer's Brother, mentioned, 422.
Feasts, the dead feast, 344, 402-4.
Fish-carrier, 408.
Frontenac, Count, mentioned, 432.
Furniss, F. H., adoption, 407.

Galinee, cited, 427, 432. *See also* Coyne.
Ganeodiyo, 412.
Ganousseracheri, 407.
Garakontié, 421, 436.
Gayaneshaoh, 407.
Genesee river valley, collections from, 439.
Getman, Dr, mentioned, 439.
Giwego, 406.
Glass beads, 441.
Glass tubes, 442.
Gonaterezon, 421.
Gorgets, 442.
Gouges, 440.
Grand council, 342, 343.
Great Peace, The, 388.
Green, John, mentioned, 398.

Hahhahhesucks, 410.
Hail (song), 401.
Hajingonis, 407.
Hale, Horatio, cited, 445, 351, 378, 380, 385, 386, 387, 398, 400.
Handsome Lake, religious teachings, 411, 412-17; Seneca version of preaching, 417-19.
Hasquetahe, 406.
Hazard, Samuel, cited, 445, 394, 425, 428.
Hennepin, cited, 352.
Hobart, Bishop, mentioned, 438.
Hocistahout, 406.
Horn, an emblem of power, 437.
Horn implements, 442.

Howe, Henry, cited, 444.
Human sacrifices, offered, 411.
Humor of Indians, 436.
Huntington, Bishop, mentioned, 438.
Hurons, office of chief hereditary, 348.
Hymns, The League I Come again to Greet and Thank, 386.
Hywesaws, 407.

Intoning of speeches at nation councils, 422.
Iroquois Book of Rites, 398.
Iroquois Litany (song), 401-2.

Jefferson, Thomas, quoted, 417.
Jefferson county, relics, 439.
Jemison, Mary, adoption, 409.
Jesuit Relations, cited, 445, 403.
Jogues, Father, cited, 411.
Johnson, Col. Guy, mentioned, 425.
Johnson, Chief John Smoke, mentioned, 398, 399.
Johnson, Sir William, account of his coming to Onondaga in *1756,* 393-94; mentioned, 420, 422; presentation of calumet to Onondagas, 433; cited, 445, 397.
Joncaires, adoption, 405.
Jones, Mrs John A., mentioned, 399.
Joseph, John, adoption, 407.

Kahynodoe, Chief, mentioned, 399.
Ketchum, William, cited, 445, 405, 423.
Key, George, mentioned, 399.
Kiotsaeton, cited, 436.
Kirkland, adoption, 405; mentioned, 425.
Knives, 442.
Krehbiel, H. E., cited, 445, 400.

La Famine, council at in *1684,* 431.
Lafitau, cited, 432.
La Fort, Daniel, mentioned, 378, 398, 399; Six Nations Condolence, 378, 381-85.
Lahontain, A. L. de D., cited, 445, 431.
Lancaster, council at in *1744,* 429.
La Salle, mentioned, 432; reception by Senecas in *1669,* 426.
Lay, Moses, mentioned, 406.
Le Moyne, Father, cited, 423, 425; mentioned, 426, 442; visit to Onondaga in *1654,* 421; second reception at Onondaga in *1661,* 421.
Loskiel, G. H., cited, 445, 348, 429.
Lothrop, Samuel K., cited, 445, 406.

Manuscripts, ceremonial, 398-400.
Marquette, Father, cited, 432.
Marshe, William, cited, 445, 429.
Medal, silver, 440.
Memorizing, one mode of, 424.
Metallic implements, 441.
Milet, Father, adoption, 405; cited, 420, 432.
Military leaders, 393.
Mohawk manuscripts, notes on, 399.
Mohawks, clans, 346; council name, 427.
Montreal, councils at, 431.
Morgan, Lewis H., adoption, 406; cited, 445, 344, 348, 379, 393, 395, 410, 411, 413, 419.
Morris, Thomas, adoption, 408.
Mount Morris, mound near, 439.
Mourning council, *see* Condoling council.

Nation councils, 419-38; at Albany, Montreal and Philadelphia, 431; at Lancaster in *1744,* 429; at Onondaga in *1655,* 435; at Onondaga in *1745,* 429; calumet in, 431; ceremonies at, 419, 422; closing, 425; council names, 427-28; courtesy of debates, 424; cry of approbation, 429; great council at Onondaga, 431; intoning of speeches, 422; introduction of chiefs, 425; mode of memorizing, 424; opening of council at Onondaga in *1743,* 428; pantomime in, 436; pipe smoked at, 431-34; time at which held, 424; voting by nations, 424; where held, 426.
Niagara county, relics from, 441, 442.

O'Callaghan, E. B., cited, 445, 348, 394, 425, 433, 436-37.
Old Way of Mutual Greeting (song), 352, 356-65.
Oneidas, clans, 346; council name, 427.
Onondaga, center of power and justice, 431; council at in *1655*, 435; council at in *1745*, 429; great council at, 431; last formal wayside reception of white men at, 438; opening of council in *1743*, 428.
Onondaga book of the younger brothers, 383-85.
Onondaga county, relics from, 440, 442.
Onondaga manuscripts, notes on, 399.
Onondaga mourning wampum, 389.
Onondagas, name for chiefs, 348; council name, 427.
Otetiana, 408.

Pantomime in Indian councils, 436.
Parker, Arthur C., cited, 445, 411, 418.
Parker, Ely S., cited, 445, 406.
Pearls, 439.
Penn, William, mentioned, 437.
Philadelphia, councils at, 431.
Pierce, Jairus, cited, 445, 415.
Pilling, James C., cited, 445, 399.
Pine tree chiefs, 348.
Pipes, 439; smoked at councils, 431-34; mound builder's, 439.
Poncet, Father, adoption, 404.
Porter, C. T., adoption, 406.
Pottery, 441.
Powell, Miss, cited, 423.

Red Jacket, mentioned, 408.
Religious belief of Iroquois, 411.
Religious council, 344, 410-19; closing, 425.
Religious teachings of Handsome Lake, 412-17; Seneca version of preaching, 417-19.
Richmond's Mills, site near, 439.
Roll Call of all the Chiefs (song), 364-77, 401-2.

Sachems, *see* Chiefs.
Sagonaquade, 378, 410.
Sattelihu, Andrew, 407.
Schoolcraft, Henry R., cited, 445, 395-96, 409.
Seaver, James E., cited, 446, 410.
Senecas, council name, 427; war chiefs, names, 348.
Shaking hands, custom of, 438.
Shell beads, 439.
Shell gorgets, 442.
Shikellimy, 407.
Shoemaker, L. D., mentioned, 440.
Silver medal, 440.
Six Nations, Condolence (song), 378, 381-85.
Smith, Mrs Erminnie A., mentioned, 399.
Songs, of adoption, 409; at council at Onondaga in *1655*, 435; At the Wood's Edge, 352, 354-57; Canadian, 385; Canienga Book of Rites, passages from, 385-86; ceremonial manuscripts, 398-400; Hail, 401; Iroquois Litany, 401-2; The League I Come again to Greet and Thank, 386; Old Way of Mutual Greeting, 352, 356-65; Roll Call of all the Chiefs, 364-77, 401-2; Six Nations Condolence, 378, 381-85; variations in, 400-2.
Sosehawa, 412, 413, 414.
Spangenberg, Joseph, adoption, 407; mentioned, 429; cited, 446.
Spearheads, 442.
Spirits, belief in, 411.
Spring, Jesse, mentioned, 406.
Stone, William L., cited, 446, 408, 409, 417.
Stone implements, 440.
Stone ornaments, 442.
Sty, Chief, mentioned, 406.
Syracuse Herald, cited, 446.

Tayadaowukkah, 406.
Tecarihondie, 408.
Temperance promoted by religious teachings, 412.
T'gerhitonti, 407.

Time at which councils were held, 424.
Toandoah, 407.
Tonawanda, council at in *1847*, 395.
Towns, meaning of names, 380.
Turtle clan, meaning of names of towns, 380.
Tuscaroras, council name, 427.

Van Curler, cited, 426.
Van der Donck, cited, 424.
Villages, meaning of names, 380.
Voting by nations, 424.

Wahkatyuten, 410.
Wampum, in councils, 350-51; used for calls to councils, 342; in condoling council, 378, 379; at nation councils, 423; at Onondaga council in *1743*, 428; in religious councils, 411, 413; figurative meaning of testimony on belts, 380; photographs of belts, 441; number of bunches differs in Canada and New York, 388; Onondaga mourning wampum, 389; took the place of the pipe of peace, 434.
Watertown, relics found near, 439.
Watteville, Bishop von, mentioned, 407; adoption, 408.
Wayne county, relics from, 442.
Webster, Ephraim, mentioned, 412.
Weiser, Conrad, cited, 428, 430; mentioned, 394, 425, 427.
Williams, Roger, cited, 446, 347.
Wolf clan, meaning of names of towns, 380.
Women, influence, 343, 350; line of descent through, 349; nominate chiefs, 346, 349; representation in council, 350.

Zeisberger, David, adoption, 407.

New York State Education Department

New York State Museum

John M. Clarke, Director

PUBLICATIONS

Packages will be sent prepaid except when distance or weight renders the same impracticable. On 10 or more copies of any one publication 20% discount will be given. Editions printed are only large enough to meet special claims and probable sales. When the sale copies are exhausted, the price for the few reserve copies is advanced to that charged by second-hand booksellers, in order to limit their distribution to cases of special need. Such prices are inclosed in [ ]. All publications are in paper covers, unless binding is specified.

Museum annual reports 1847–date. *All in print to* 1892, 50*c a volume*, 75*c in cloth;* 1892–*date*, 75*c*, *cloth.*

These reports are made up of the reports of the Director, Geologist, Paleontologist, Botanist and Entomologist, and museum bulletins and memoirs, issued as advance sections of the reports.

Director's annual reports 1904–date.

These reports cover the reports of the State Geologist and of the State Paleontologist. Bound also with the museum reports of which they form a part.

Report for 1904. 138p. 20*c*. Report for 1905. 102p. 23pl. 30*c*.

Geologist's annual reports 1881–date. Rep'ts 1, 3–13, 17–date, O; 2, 14–16, Q.

In 1898 the paleontologic work of the State was made distinct from the geologic and was reported separately from 1899–1903. The two departments were reunited in 1904, and are now reported in the Director's report.

The annual reports of the original Natural History Survey, 1837–41, are out of print.

Reports 1–4, 1881–84, were published only in separate form. Of the 5th report 4 pages were reprinted in the 30th museum report, and a supplement to the 6th report was included in the 40th museum report. The 7th and subsequent reports are included in the 41st and following museum reports except that certain lithographic plates in the 11th report (1891) and 13th (1893) are omitted from the 45th and 47th museum reports.

Separate volumes of the following only are available.

Report	*Price*	*Report*	*Price*	*Report*	*Price*
12 (1892)	$.50	17	$.75	21	$.40
14	.75	18	.75	22	.40
15, 2v.	2	19	.40	23	.45
16	1	20	.50	[*See* Director's annual reports]	

Paleontologist's annual reports 1899–date.

See first note under Geologist's annual reports.

Bound also with museum reports of which they form a part. Reports for 1899 and 1900 may be had for 20c each. Those for 1901–3 were issued as bulletins. In 1904 combined with the Director's report.

Entomologist's annual reports on the injurious and other insects of the State of New York 1882–date.

Reports 3–20 bound also with museum reports 40–46, 48–58 of which they form a part. Since 1898 these reports have been issued as bulletins. Reports 3–4, 17 are out of print, other reports with prices are:

Report	*Price*	*Report*	*Price*	*Report*	*Price*
1	$.50	9	$.25	15 (En 9)	$.15
2	.30	10	.35	16 (" 10)	.25
5	.25	11	.25	18 (" 17)	.20
6	.15	12	.25	19 (" 21)	.15
7	.20	13	.10	20 (" 24)	.40
8	.25	14 (En 5)	.20	21 (" 26)	.25

Reports 2, 8–12 may also be obtained bound separately in cloth at 25c in addition to the price given above.

Botanist's annual reports 1867–date.

Bound also with museum reports 21–date of which they form a part; the first Botanist's report appeared in the 21st museum report and is numbered 21. Reports 21–24, 29, 31–41 were not published separately.

Separate reports for 1871–74, 1876, 1888–96 and 1898 (Botany 3) are out of print. Report for 1897 may be had for 40c; 1899 for 20c; 1900 for 50c. Since 1901 these reports have been issued as bulletins [*see* Bo 5–9].

Descriptions and illustrations of edible, poisonous and unwholesome fungi of New York have also been published in volumes 1 and 3 of the 48th (1894) museum report and in volume 1 of the 49th (1895), 51st (1897), 52d (1898), 54th (1900), 55th (1901), 56th (1902), 57th (1903) and 58th (1904) reports. The descriptions and illustrations of edible and unwholesome species contained in the 49th, 51st and 52d reports have been revised and rearranged, and, combined with others more recently prepared, constitute Museum memoir 4.

Museum bulletins 1887–date. O. *To advance subscribers, $2 a year or $1 a year for division (1) geology, economic geology, paleontology, mineralogy; 50c each for divisions (2) general zoology, archeology and miscellaneous, (3) botany, (4) entomology.*

Bulletins are also found with the annual reports of the museum as follows:

Bulletin	*Report*	*Bulletin*	*Report*	*Bulletin*	*Report*	*Bulletin*	*Report*
G 1	48, v.1	Pa 2, 3	54, v.3	En 11	54, v.3	Ar 3	52, v.1
2	51, v.1	4	" v.4	12, 13	" v.4	4	54, v.1
3	52, v.1	5, 6	55, v.1	14	55, v.1	5	" v.3
4	54, v.4	7–9	56, v.2	15–18	56, v.3	6	55, v.1
5	56, v.1	10	57, v.1	19	57, v.1, pt 2	7	56, v.4
6	57, v.1	Z 3	53, v.1	20	" v.1 "	8	57, v.2
Eg 5, 6	48, v.1	4	54, v.1	21	" v.1 "	9	" v.2
7	50, v.1	5–7	" v.3	22	" v.1 "	Ms 1, 2	56, v.4
8	53, v.1	8	55, v.1	Bo 3	52, v.1	*Memoir*	
9	54, v.2	9	56, v.3	4	53, v.1	2	49, v.3
10	" v.3	10	57, v.1	5	55, v.1	3, 4	53, v.2
11	56, v.1	En 3	48, v.1	6	56, v.4	5, 6	57, v.3
M 2	" v.1	4–6	52, v.1	7	57, v.2	7	" v.4
3	57, v.1	7–9	53, v.1	Ar 1	50, v.1		
Pa 1	54, v.1	10	54, v.2	2	51, v.1		

The figures in parenthesis in the following list indicate the bulletin's number as a New York State Museum bulletin.

Geology. G1 (14) Kemp, J. F. Geology of Moriah and Westport Townships, Essex Co. N. Y., with notes on the iron mines. 38p. 7pl. 2 maps. Sep. 1895. 10*c*.

G2 (19) Merrill, F. J. H. Guide to the Study of the Geological Collections of the New York State Museum. 162p. 119pl. map. Nov. 1898. [50*c*]

G3 (21) Kemp, J. F. Geology of the Lake Placid Region. 24p. 1pl. map. Sep. 1898. 5*c*.

G4 (48) Woodworth, J. B. Pleistocene Geology of Nassau County and Borough of Queens. 58p. il. 9pl. map. Dec. 1901. 25*c*.

G5 (56) Merrill, F. J. H. Description of the State Geologic Map of 1901. 42p. 2 maps, tab. Oct. 1902. 10*c*.

G6 (77) Cushing, H. P. Geology of the Vicinity of Little Falls, Herkimer Co. 98p. il. 15pl. 2 maps. Jan. 1905. 30*c*.

G7 (83) Woodworth, J. B. Pleistocene Geology of the Mooers Quadrangle. 62p. 25pl. map. June 1905. 25*c*.

G8 (84) —— Ancient Water Levels of the Champlain and Hudson Valleys. 206p. 11pl. 18 maps. July 1905. 45*c*.

G9 (95) Cushing, H. P. Geology of the Northern Adirondack Region. 188p. 15pl. 3 maps. Sep. 1905. 30*c*.

G10 (96) Ogilvie, I. H. Geology of the Paradox Lake Quadrangle. 54p. il. 17pl. map. Dec. 1905. 30*c*.

G11 (106) Fairchild, H. L. Glacial Waters in the Erie Basin. 88p. 14pl. 9 maps. Feb. 1907. 35*c*.

G12 (107) Woodworth, J. B.; Hartnagel, C. A.; Whitlock, H. P.; Hudson, G. H.; Clarke, J. M.; White, David; Berkey, C. P. Geological Papers. 388p. 56pl. map. May 1907. 90*c*.

Contents: Woodworth, J. B. Postglacial Faults of Eastern New York.
Hartnagel, C. A. Stratigraphic Relations of the Oneida Conglomerate.
—— Upper Siluric and Lower Devonic Formations of the Skunnemunk Mountain Region.
Whitlock, H. P. Minerals from Lyon Mountain, Clinton Co.
Hudson, G. H. On Some Pelmatozoa from the Chazy Limestone of New York.
Clarke, J. M. Some New Devonic Fossils.
—— An Interesting Style of Sand-filled Vein.
—— Eurypterus Shales of the Shawangunk Mountains in Eastern New York.
White, David. A Remarkable Fossil Tree Trunk from the Middle Devonic of New York.
Berkey, C. P. Structural and Stratigraphic Features of the Basal Gneisses of the Highlands.

Fairchild, H. L. Drumlins of New York. *In press.*

—— Later Glacial Waters in Central New York. *Prepared.*

Cushing, H. P. Geology of the Theresa Quadrangle. *In preparation.*

—— Geology of the Long Lake Quadrangle. *In press.*

Berkey, C. P. Geology of the Highlands of the Hudson. *In preparation.*

Economic geology. Eg1 (3) Smock, J. C. Building Stone in the State of New York. 152p. Mar. 1888. *Out of print.*

Eg2 (7) —— First Report on the Iron Mines and Iron Ore Districts in the State of New York. 6 + 70p. map. June 1889. *Out of print.*

Eg3 (10) —— Building Stone in New York. 210p. map, tab. Sep. 1890. 40*c*.

Eg4 (11) Merrill, F. J. H. Salt and Gypsum Industries of New York. 92p. 12pl. 2 maps, 11 tab. Ap. 1893. [50*c*]

Eg5 (12) Ries, Heinrich. Clay Industries of New York. 174p. 2pl. map. Mar. 1895. 30*c*.

Eg6 (15) Merrill, F. J. H. Mineral Resources of New York. 224p. 2 maps. Sep. 1895. [50*c*]

Eg7 (17) —— Road Materials and Road Building in New York. 52p. 14pl. 2 maps 34x45, 68x92 cm. Oct. 1897. 15*c*.

Eg8 (30) Orton, Edward. Petroleum and Natural Gas in New York. 136p. il. 3 maps. Nov. 1899. 15*c*.

Eg9 (35) Ries, Heinrich. Clays of New York; their Properties and Uses. 456p. 140pl. map. June 1900. $1, *cloth*.

Eg10 (44) —— Lime and Cement Industries of New York; Eckel, E. C. Chapters on the Cement Industry. 332p. 101pl. 2 maps. Dec. 1901. 85*c*, *cloth*.

Eg11 (61) Dickinson, H. T. Quarries of Bluestone and other Sandstones in New York. 108p. 18pl. 2 maps. Mar. 1903. 35*c*.

Eg12 (85) Rafter, G. W. Hydrology of New York State. 902p. il. 44pl. 5 maps. May 1905. $1.50, *cloth*.

Eg13 (93) Newland, D. H. Mining and Quarry Industry of New York. 78p. July 1905. 15*c*.

Eg14 (100) McCourt, W. E. Fire Tests of Some New York Building Stones. 40p. 26pl. Feb. 1906. 15*c*.

Eg15 (102) Newland, D. H. Mining and Quarry Industry of New York. 2d Report. 162p. June 1906. 25*c*.

Newland, D. H. & Hartnagel, C. A. The Sandstones of New York. *In preparation.*

Newland, D. H. Mining and Quarry Industry of New York. 3d report. *In press.*

Mineralogy. M1 (4) Nason, F. L. Some New York Minerals and their Localities. 20p. 1pl. Aug. 1888. [10*c*]

M2 (58) Whitlock, H. P. Guide to the Mineralogic Collections of the New York State Museum. 150p. il. 39pl. 11 models. Sep. 1902. 40*c*.

M3 (70) —— New York Mineral Localities. 110p. Sep. 1903. 20*c*.

M4 (98) —— Contributions from the Mineralogic Laboratory. 38p. 7pl. Dec. 1905. 15*c*.

Paleontology. Pa1 (34) Cumings, E. R. Lower Silurian System of Eastern Montgomery County; Prosser, C. S. Notes on the Stratigraphy of Mohawk Valley and Saratoga County, N. Y. 74p. 10pl. map. May 1900. 15*c*.

Pa2 (39) Clarke, J. M.; Simpson, G. B. & Loomis, F. B. Paleontologic Papers 1. 72p. il. 16 pl. Oct. 1900. 15*c*.

Contents: Clarke, J. M. A Remarkable Occurrence of Orthoceras in the Oneonta Beds of the Chenango Valley, N. Y.
—— Paropsonema cryptophya; a Peculiar Echinoderm from the Intumescens-zone (Portage Beds) of Western New York.
—— Dictyonine Hexactinellid Sponges from the Upper Devonic of New York.
—— The Water Biscuit of Squaw Island, Canandaigua Lake, N. Y.
Simpson, G. B. Preliminary Descriptions of New Genera of Paleozoic Rugose Corals.
Loomis, F. B. Siluric Fungi from Western New York.

Pa3 (42) Ruedemann, Rudolf. Hudson River Beds near Albany and their Taxonomic Equivalents. 114p. 2 pl. map. Ap. 1901. 25*c*.

Pa4 (45) Grabau, A. W. Geology and Paleontology of Niagara Falls and Vicinity. 286p. il. 18pl. map. Ap. 1901. 65*c*; *cloth*, 90*c*.

Pa5 (49) Ruedemann, Rudolf; Clarke, J. M. & Wood, Elvira. Paleontologic Papers 2. 240p. 13pl. Dec. 1901. 40*c*.

Contents: Ruedemann, Rudolf. Trenton Conglomerate of Rysedorph Hill.
Clarke, J. M. Limestones of Central and Western New York Interbedded with Bituminous Shales of the Marcellus Stage.
Wood, Elvira. Marcellus Limestones of Lancaster, Erie Co. N. Y.
Clarke, J. M. New Agelacrinites.
—— Value of Amnigenia as an Indicator of Fresh-water Deposits during the Devonic of New York, Ireland and the Rhineland.

Pa6 (52) Clarke, J. M. Report of the State Paleontologist 1901. 280p. il. 9pl. map. 1 tab. July 1902. 40*c*.

Pa7 (63) —— Stratigraphy of Canandaigua and Naples Quadrangles. 78p. map. June 1904. 25*c*.

Pa8 (65) —— Catalogue of Type Specimens of Paleozoic Fossils in the New York State Museum. 848p. May 1903. $1.20, *cloth*.

Pa9 (69) —— Report of the State Paleontologist 1902. 464p. 52pl. 8 maps. Nov. 1903. $1, *cloth.*

Pa10 (80) —— Report of the State Paleontologist 1903. 396p. 20pl. map. Feb. 1905. 85*c*, *cloth.*

Pa11 (81) —— & Luther, D. D. Watkins and Elmira Quadrangles. 32p. map. Mar. 1905. 25*c*.

Pa12 (82) —— Geologic Map of the Tully Quadrangle. 40p. map. Ap. 1905. 20*c*.

Pa13 (92) Grabau, A. W. Guide to the Geology and Paleontology of the Schoharie Region. 316p. il. 24pl. map. Ap. 1906. 75*c*, *cloth.*

Pa14 (90) Ruedemann, Rudolf. Cephalopoda of Beekmantown and Chazy Formations of Champlain Basin. 226p. il. 38pl. Ap. 1906. 75*c*, *cloth.*

Pa15 (99) Luther, D. D. Geology of the Buffalo Quadrangle. 32p. map. May 1906. 20*c*.

Pa16 (101) —— Geology of the Penn Yan-Hammondsport Quadrangles. 28p. map. July 1906. 25*c*.

White, David. The Devonic Plants of New York. *In preparation.*

Hartnagel, C. A. Geology of the Rochester Quadrangle. *In press.*

Luther, D. D. Geology of the Geneva Quadrangle. *In preparation.*

—— Geology of the Ovid Quadrangle. *In preparation.*

—— Geology of the Phelps Quadrangle. *In preparation.*

Whitnall, H. O. Geology of the Morrisville Quadrangle. *Prepared.*

Hopkins, T. C. Geology of the Syracuse Quadrangle. *In preparation.*

Hudson, G. H. Geology of Valcour Island. *In preparation.*

Zoology. Z1 (1) Marshall, W. B. Preliminary List of New York Unionidae. 20p. Mar. 1892. 5*c*.

Z2 (9) —— Beaks of Unionidae Inhabiting the Vicinity of Albany, N. Y. 24p. 1pl. Aug. 1890. 10*c*.

Z3 (29) Miller, G. S. jr. Preliminary List of New York Mammals. 124p. Oct. 1899. 15*c*.

Z4 (33) Farr, M. S. Check List of New York Birds. 224p. Ap. 1900. 25*c*.

Z5 (38) Miller, G. S. jr. Key to the Land Mammals of Northeastern North America. 106p. Oct. 1900. 15*c*.

Z6 (40) Simpson, G. B. Anatomy and Physiology of Polygyra albolabris and Limax maximus and Embryology of Limax maximus. 82p. 28pl. Oct. 1901. 25*c*.

Z7 (43) Kellogg, J. L. Clam and Scallop Industries of New York. 36p. 2pl. map. Ap. 1901. 10*c*.

Z8 (51) Eckel, E. C. & Paulmier, F. C. Catalogue of Reptiles and Batrachians of New York. 64p. il. 1pl. Ap. 1902. 15*c*.

Eckel, E. C. Serpents of Northeastern United States.
Paulmier, F. C. Lizards, Tortoises and Batrachians of New York.

Z9 (60) Bean, T. H. Catalogue of the Fishes of New York. 784p. Feb. 1903. $1, *cloth.*

Z10 (71) Kellogg, J. L. Feeding Habits and Growth of Venus mercenaria. 30p. 4pl. Sep. 1903. 10*c*.

Z11 (88) Letson, Elizabeth J. Check List of the Mollusca of New York. 114p. May 1905. 20*c*.

Z12 (91) Paulmier, F. C. Higher Crustacea of New York City. 78p. il. June 1905. 20*c*.

Entomology. En 1 (5) Lintner, J. A. White Grub of the May Beetle. 32p. il. Nov. 1888. 10*c*.

En2 (6) —— Cut-worms. 36p. il. Nov. 1888. 10*c*.

En3 (13) —— San José Scale and Some Destructive Insects of New York State. 54p. 7pl. Ap. 1895. 15*c*.

En4 (20) Felt, E. P. Elm-leaf Beetle in New York State. 46p. il. 5pl. June 1898. 5*c*.

See En15.

En5 (23) —— 14th Report of the State Entomologist 1898. 150p. il. 9pl. Dec. 1898. 20*c*.

En6 (24) —— Memorial of the Life and Entomologic Work of J. A. Lintner Ph.D. State Entomologist 1874–98; Index to Entomologist's Reports 1–13. 316p. 1pl. Oct. 1899. 35*c*.

Supplement to 14th report of the State Entomologist.

En7 (26) —— Collection, Preservation and Distribution of New York Insects. 36p. il. Ap. 1899. 5*c*.
En8 (27) —— Shade Tree Pests in New York State. 26p. il. 5pl. May 1899. 5*c*.
En9 (31) —— 15th Report of the State Entomologist 1899. 128p. June 1900. 15*c*.
En10 (36) —— 16th Report of the State Entomologist 1900. 118p. 16pl. Mar. 1901. 25*c*.
En11 (37) —— Catalogue of Some of the More Important Injurious and Beneficial Insects of New York State. 54p. il. Sep. 1900. 10*c*.
En12 (46) —— Scale Insects of Importance and a List of the Species in New York State. 94p. il. 15pl. June 1901. 25*c*.
En13 (47) Needham, J. G. & Betten, Cornelius. Aquatic Insects in the Adirondacks. 234p. il. 36pl. Sep. 1901. 45*c*.
En14 (53) Felt, E. P. 17th Report of the State Entomologist 1901. 232p. il. 6pl. Aug. 1902. *Out of print.*
En15 (57) —— Elm Leaf Beetle in New York State. 46p. il. 8pl. Aug. 1902. *Out of print.*

This is a revision of En4 containing the more essential facts observed since that was prepared.

En16 (59) —— Grapevine Root Worm. 40p. 6pl. Dec. 1902. 15*c*.
See En19.
En17 (64) —— 18th Report of the State Entomologist 1902. 110p. 6pl. May 1903. 20*c*.
En18 (68) Needham, J. G. *& others.* Aquatic Insects in New York. 322p. 52pl. Aug. 1903. 80*c*, *cloth.*
En19 (72) Felt, E. P. Grapevine Root Worm. 58p. 13pl. Nov. 1903. 20*c*.

This is a revision of En16 containing the more essential facts observed since that was prepared.

En20 (74) —— & Joutel, L. H. Monograph of the Genus Saperda. 88p. 14pl. June 1904. 25*c*.
En21 (76) Felt, E. P. 19th Report of the State Entomologist 1903. 150p. 4pl. 1904. 15*c*.
En22 (79) —— Mosquitos or Culicidae of New York. 164p. il. 57pl. Oct. 1904. 40*c*.
En23 (86) Needham, J. G. *& others.* May Flies and Midges of New York. 352p. il. 37pl. June 1905. 80*c*, *cloth.*
En24 (97) Felt, E. P. 20th Report of the State Entomologist 1904. 246p. il. 19pl. Nov. 1905. 40*c*.
En25 (103) —— Gipsy and Brown Tail Moths. 44p. 10pl. July 1906. 15*c*.
En26 (104) —— 21st Report of the State Entomologist 1905. 144p. 10pl. Aug. 1906. 25*c*.
En27 (109) —— Tussock Moth and Elm Leaf Beetle. 34p. Mar. 1907. 20*c*.
Needham, J. G. Monograph on Stone Flies. *In preparation.*

Botany. Bo1 (2) Peck, C. H. Contributions to the Botany of the State of New York. 66p. 2pl. May 1887. *Out of print.*
Bo2 (8) —— Boleti of the United States. 96p. Sep. 1889. [50*c*]
Bo3 (25) —— Report of the State Botanist 1898. 76p. 5pl. Oct. 1899. *Out of print.*
Bo4 (28) —— Plants of North Elba. 206p. map. June 1899. 20*c*.
Bo5 (54) —— Report of the State Botanist 1901. 58p. 7pl. Nov. 1902. 40*c*.
Bo6 (67) —— Report of the State Botanist 1902. 196p. 5pl. May 1903. 50*c*.
Bo7 (75) —— Report of the State Botanist 1903. 70p. 4pl. 1904. 40*c*.
Bo8 (94) —— Report of the State Botanist 1904. 60p. 10pl. July 1905. 40*c*.
Bo9 (105) —— Report of the State Botanist 1905. 108p. 12pl. Aug. 1906. 50*c*.

Archeology. Ar1 (16) Beauchamp, W. M. Aboriginal Chipped Stone Implements of New York. 86p. 23pl. Oct. 1897. 25*c*.
Ar2 (18) —— Polished Stone Articles used by the New York Aborigines. 104p. 35pl. Nov. 1897. 25*c*.
Ar3 (22) —— Earthenware of the New York Aborigines. 78p. 33pl. Oct. 1898. 25*c*.
Ar4 (32) —— Aboriginal Occupation of New York. 190p. 16pl. 2 maps. Mar. 1900. 30*c*.

Ar5 (41) —— Wampum and Shell Articles used by New York Indians. 166p. 28pl. Mar. 1901. 30c.

Ar6 (50) —— Horn and Bone Implements of the New York Indians. 112p. 43pl. Mar. 1902. 30c.

Ar7 (55) —— Metallic Implements of the New York Indians. 94p. 38pl. June 1902. 25c.

Ar8 (73) —— Metallic Ornaments of the New York Indians. 122p. 37pl. Dec. 1903. 30c.

Ar9 (78) —— History of the New York Iroquois. 340p. 17pl. map. Feb. 1905. 75c, *cloth.*

Ar10 (87) —— Perch Lake Mounds. 84p. 12pl. Ap. 1905. 20c.

Ar11 (89) —— Aboriginal Use of Wood in New York. 190p. 35pl. June 1905. 35c.

Ar12 (108) —— Aboriginal Place Names of New York. 336p. May 1907. 40c.

Ar13 (113) Civil, Religious and Mourning Councils and Ceremonies of Adoption of the New York Indians 118p. 7pl. June, 1907. 25c.

Parker, A. C. An Erie Indian Village and Burial Site. *In press.*

Miscellaneous. M31 (62) Merrill, F. J. H. Directory of Natural History Museums in United States and Canada. 236p. Ap. 1903. 30c.

M32 (66) Ellis, Mary. Index to Publications of the New York State Natural History Survey and New York State Museum 1837–1902. 418p. June 1903. 75c, *cloth.*

Museum memoirs 1889–date. Q.

1 Beecher, C. E. & Clarke, J. M. Development of Some Silurian Brachiopoda. 96p. 8pl. Oct. 1889. $1.

2 Hall, James & Clarke, J. M. Paleozoic Reticulate Sponges. 350p. il. 70pl. 1898. $1, *cloth.*

3 Clarke, J. M. The Oriskany Fauna of Becraft Mountain, Columbia Co. N. Y. 128p. 9pl. Oct. 1900. 80c.

4 Peck, C. H. N. Y. Edible Fungi, 1895–99. 106p. 25pl. Nov. 1900. 75c.
This includes revised descriptions and illustrations of fungi reported in the 49th, 51st and 52d reports of the State Botanist.

5 Clarke, J. M. & Ruedemann, Rudolf. Guelph Formation and Fauna of New York State. 196p. 21pl. July 1903. $1.50, *cloth.*

6 Clarke, J. M. Naples Fauna in Western New York. 268p. 26pl. map. $2, *cloth.*

7 Ruedemann, Rudolf. Graptolites of New York. Pt 1 Graptolites of the Lower Beds. 350p. 17pl. Feb. 1905. $1.50, *cloth.*

8 Felt, E. P. Insects Affecting Park and Woodland Trees. 2v. il. pl. 1906-7. $4. v.1 460p. il. 48pl. Feb. 1906. $2.50, *cloth.* v.2 548p. il. 22pl. Feb. 1907. $2, *cloth.*

9 Clarke, J. M. Early Devonic of New York and Eastern North America. *In press.*

10 Eastman, C. R. The Devonic Fishes of the New York Formations. 236p. 15pl. (?) 1907. $1.25, *cloth.*

Eaton, E. H. Birds of New York. *In preparation.*

Ruedemann, R. Graptolites of New York. Pt 2 Graptolites of the Higher Beds. *Prepared.*

Natural history of New York. 30v. il. pl. maps. Q. Albany 1842–94.

DIVISION 1 ZOOLOGY. De Kay, James E. Zoology of New York; or, The New York Fauna; comprising detailed descriptions of all the animals hitherto observed within the State of New York with brief notices of those occasionally found near its borders, and accompanied by appropriate illustrations. 5v. il. pl. maps. sq. Q. Albany 1842–44. *Out of print.*
Historical introduction to the series by Gov. W. H. Seward. 178p.

v. 1 pt1 Mammalia. 131 + 46p. 33pl. 1842.
300 copies with hand-colored plates.

v. 2 pt2 Birds. 12 + 380p. 141pl. 1844.
Colored plates.

v. 3 pt3 Reptiles and Amphibia. 7 + 98p. pt4 Fishes. 15 + 415p. 1842.
pt3–4 bound together.

v. 4 Plates to accompany v. 3. Reptiles and Amphibia 23pl. Fishes 79pl. 1842.
300 copies with hand-colored plates.

v. 5 pt5 Mollusca. 4 + 271p. 40pl. pt6 Crustacea. 70p. 13pl. 1843–44.
Hand-colored plates; pt5–6 bound together.

DIVISION 2 BOTANY. Torrey, John. Flora of the State of New York; comprising full descriptions of all the indigeneous and naturalized plants hitherto discovered in the State, with remarks on their economical and medical properties. 2v. il. pl. sq. Q. Albany 1843. *Out of print.*

v. 1 Flora of the State of New York. 12 + 484p. 72pl. 1843.
300 copies with hand-colored plates.

v. 2 Flora of the State of New York. 572p. 89pl. 1843.
300 copies with hand-colored plates.

DIVISION 3 MINERALOGY. Beck, Lewis C. Mineralogy of New York; comprising detailed descriptions of the minerals hitherto found in the State of New York, and notices of their uses in the arts and agriculture. il. pl. sq. Q. Albany 1842. *Out of print.*

v. 1 pt1 Economical Mineralogy. pt2 Descriptive Mineralogy. 24 + 536p. 1842.
8 plates additional to those printed as part of the text.

DIVISION 4 GEOLOGY. Mather, W. W.; Emmons, Ebenezer; Vanuxem, Lardner & Hall, James. Geology of New York. 4v. il. pl. sq. Q. Albany 1842–43. *Out of print.*

v. 1 pt1 Mather, W. W. First Geological District. 37 + 653p. 46pl. 1843.

v. 2 pt2 Emmons, Ebenezer. Second Geological District. 10 + 437p. 17pl. 1842.

v. 3 pt3 Vanuxem, Lardner. Third Geological District. 306p. 1842.

v. 4 pt4 Hall, James. Fourth Geological District. 22 + 683p. 19pl. map. 1843.

DIVISION 5 AGRICULTURE. Emmons, Ebenezer. Agriculture of New York; comprising an account of the classification, composition and distribution of the soils and rocks and the natural waters of the different geological formations, together with a condensed view of the meteorology and agricultural productions of the State. 5v. il. pl. sq. Q. Albany 1846–54. *Out of print.*

v. 1 Soils of the State, their Composition and Distribution. 11 + 371p. 21pl. 1846.

v. 2 Analysis of Soils, Plants, Cereals, etc. 8 + 343 + 46p. 42pl. 1849.
With hand-colored plates.

v. 3 Fruits, etc. 8 + 340p. 1851.

v. 4 Plates to accompany v. 3. 95pl. 1851.
Hand-colored.

v. 5 Insects Injurious to Agriculture. 8 + 272p. 50pl. 1854.
With hand-colored plates.

DIVISION 6 PALEONTOLOGY. Hall, James. Palaeontology of New York. 8v. il. pl. sq. Q. Albany 1847–94. *Bound in cloth.*

v. 1 Organic Remains of the Lower Division of the New York System. 23 + 338p. 99pl. 1847. *Out of print.*

v. 2 Organic Remains of Lower Middle Division of the New York System. 8 + 362p. 104pl. 1852. *Out of print.*

v. 3 Organic Remains of the Lower Helderberg Group and the Oriskany Sandstone. pt1, text. 12 + 532p. 1859. [$3.50]

——pt2. 143pl. 1861. [$2.50]

v. 4 Fossil Brachiopoda of the Upper Helderberg, Hamilton, Portage and Chemung Groups. 11 + 1 + 428p. 69pl. 1867. $2.50.

v. 5 pt1 Lamellibranchiata 1. Monomyaria of the Upper Helderberg, Hamilton and Chemung Groups. 18 + 268p. 45pl. 1884. $2.50.

—— —— Lamellibranchiata 2. Dimyaria of the Upper Helderberg, Hamilton, Portage and Chemung Groups. 62 + 293p. 51pl. 1885. $2.50.

—— pt2 Gasteropoda, Pteropoda and Cephalopoda of the Upper Helderberg, Hamilton, Portage and Chemung Groups. 2v. 1879. v. 1, text. 15 + 492p. v. 2, 120pl. $2.50 *for* 2 *v.*

—— & Simpson, George B. v. 6 Corals and Bryozoa of the Lower and Upper Helderberg and Hamilton Groups. 24 + 298p. 67pl. 1887. $2.50.

—— & Clarke, John M. v. 7 Trilobites and other Crustacea of the Oriskany, Upper Helderberg, Hamilton, Portage, Chemung and Catskill Groups. 64 + 236p. 46pl. 1888. Cont. supplement to v. 5, pt2. Pteropoda, Cephalopoda and Annelida. 42p. 18pl. 1888. $2.50.

—— & Clarke, John M. v. 8 pt1 Introduction to the Study of the Genera of the Paleozoic Brachiopoda. 16+367p. 44pl. 1892. *$2.50.*

—— & Clarke, John M. v. 8 pt2 Paleozoic Brachiopoda. 16+394p. 64pl. 1894. *$2.50.*

Catalogue of the Cabinet of Natural History of the State of New York and of the Historical and Antiquarian Collection annexed thereto. 242p. O. 1853.

Handbooks 1893–date. 7½x12½ cm.

In quantities, 1 cent for each 16 pages or less. Single copies postpaid as below.

New York State Museum. 52p. il. *4c.*

Outlines history and work of the museum with list of staff 1902.

Paleontology. 12p. *2c.*

Brief outline of State Museum work in paleontology under heads: Definition; Relation to biology; Relation to stratigraphy; History of paleontology in New York.

Guide to Excursions in the Fossiliferous Rocks of New York. 124p. *8c.*

Itineraries of 32 trips covering nearly the entire series of Paleozoic rocks, prepared specially for the use of teachers and students desiring to acquaint themselves more intimately with the classic rocks of this State.

Entomology. 16p. *2c.*

Economic Geology. 44p. *4c.*

Insecticides and Fungicides. 20p. *3c.*

Classification of New York Series of Geologic Formations. 32p. *3c.*

Geologic maps. Merrill, F. J. H. Economic and Geologic Map of the State of New York; issued as part of Museum bulletin 15 and 48th Museum Report, v. 1. 59x67 cm. 1894. Scale 14 miles to 1 inch. *15c.*

—— Map of the State of New York Showing the Location of Quarries of Stone Used for Building and Road Metal. Mus. bul. 17. 1897. *10c.*

—— Map of the State of New York Showing the Distribution of the Rocks Most Useful for Road Metal. Mus. bul. 17. 1897. *5c.*

—— Geologic Map of New York. 1901. Scale 5 miles to 1 inch. *In atlas form $3; mounted on rollers $5. Lower Hudson sheet 60c.*

The lower Hudson sheet, geologically colored, comprises Rockland, Orange, Dutchess, Putnam, Westchester, New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens and Nassau counties, and parts of Sullivan, Ulster and Suffolk counties; also northeastern New Jersey and part of western Connecticut

—— Map of New York Showing the Surface Configuration and Water Sheds. 1901. Scale 12 miles to 1 inch. *15c.*

—— Map of the State of New York Showing the Location of its Economic Deposits. 1904. Scale 12 miles to 1 inch. *15c.*

Geologic maps on the United States Geological Survey topographic base; scale 1 in. = 1 m. Those marked with an asterisk have also been published separately.

*Albany county. Mus. rep't 49, v. 2. 1898. *50c.*

Area around Lake Placid. Mus. bul. 21. 1898.

Vicinity of Frankfort Hill [parts of Herkimer and Oneida counties]. Mus. rep't 51, v. 1. 1899.

Rockland county. State geol. rep't 18. 1899.

Amsterdam quadrangle. Mus. bul. 34. 1900.

*Parts of Albany and Rensselaer counties. Mus. bul. 42. 1901. *10c.*

*Niagara river. Mus. bul. 45. 1901. *25c.*

Part of Clinton county. State geol. rep't 19. 1901.

Oyster Bay and Hempstead quadrangles on Long Island. Mus. bul. 48 1901.

Portions of Clinton and Essex counties. Mus. bul. 52. 1902.

Part of town of Northumberland, Saratoga co. State geol. rep't 21. 1903

Union Springs, Cayuga county and vicinity. Mus. bul. 69. 1903.

*Olean quadrangle. Mus. bul. 69. 1903. *10c.*

*Becraft Mt with 2 sheets of sections. (Scale 1 in.= ½ m.) Mus. bul. 69 1903. *20c.*

*Canandaigua-Naples quadrangles. Mus. bul. 63. 1904. *20c.*

*Little Falls quadrangle. Mus. bul. 77. 1905. *15c.*

*Watkins-Elmira quadrangles. Mus. bul. 81. 1905. *20c.*

*Tully quadrangle. Mus. bul. 82. 1905. *10c.*

*Salamanca quadrangle. Mus. bul. 80. 1905. *10c.*

*Buffalo quadrangle. Mus. bul. 90. 1906. *10c.*

*Penn Yan–Hammondsport quadrangles. Mus. bul. 101. 1906. *20c.*

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION LIBRARIES

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION LIBRARIES
BOUND BY HNM

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION LIBRARIES
3 9088 01300 7604